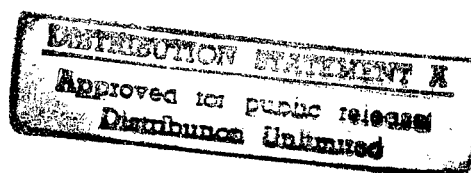


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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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5 September 1991

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International Affairs

U.S. Said Aiding Indian Hegemony

91AS0889A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 21 Apr 91
p 10

[Editorial: "Suspension of U.S. Aid"]

[Text] Mr. Sartaj Aziz, the federal finance minister, said that the aid to Pakistan which the U.S. Congress had canceled was 10 percent of the total aid given by the United States. He said that this cancellation would not have a negative impact on Pakistan's economy as we had already implemented precautionary measures such as increasing our exports to one billion dollars during the next year. The U.S. attitude during the last one and one-half years indicated that this aid would be canceled. However, it is still deplorable since Pakistan is a friend of the United States and has suffered economically because of the recent Gulf crisis. The aid to Jordan is still being given and India, which is not only a Soviet ally but also has exploded an atomic bomb in 1974, is also receiving favors from the United States. The ax of the Pressler Amendment has fallen on Pakistan only and the U.S. President, who has always claimed to be a friend of Pakistan, did not think it necessary to issue the verification certificate. Instead, he started this discriminatory practice using the Pressler Amendment as an excuse and has also expressed a desire to issue a strong warning to Pakistan. The present government has adopted a proud stand since it came to power and has decided to end dependence on foreign aid by implementing a policy of self-sufficiency. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has expressed this desire more than once that any aid that hurts our national pride will not be accepted. The United States does not only want to halt our nuclear program, it also wants to establish Indian supremacy in this region. This obviously is not acceptable to Pakistan. The federal finance minister has expressed the hope that cancellation of U.S. aid will not hurt our economy. May God make this true. However, until industrialization is not successfully implemented, the climate will not be conducive to investment and the plan to fill the gap left by the cancellation of aid by exporting one billion dollar worth of goods cannot be successful. It is important to improve the peace situation in Sindh also.

Rejection of U.S. Pressure on Nuclear Issue Urged

91AS0960B Karachi JANG in Urdu 27 Apr 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Nuclear Program and the U.S. Aid"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has announced that we will not compromise our nuclear program just to get U.S. aid. However, should the United States be willing to offer an unconditional assistance, we will consider whether or not to accept this aid. The prime minister was in Lahore to lay the foundation stone of the Shaukat Khanam Memorial Hospital and Cancer Research

Center building. The prime minister further said that he wanted to strengthen relations with the United States. However, he was not willing to sacrifice his policies. He said that the policy of self-sufficiency would be more beneficial to us, and that we would not bear the burden of failing industries for long. We are trying to break the inefficiency of the past and improve our private sector. As a result of this policy, we will not need any aid in three or four years.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is adamant on his stand that Pakistan will not compromise on its nuclear program, and will not accept any foreign aid that affects the program. Several times he explained the policy adopted when the U.S. military and economic aid had stopped. He had said that he was not willing to accept any aid to Pakistan that had conditions that could jeopardize Pakistan's nuclear program. At the same time, he had used his industrial and business experience and had started to implement the election goals announced by the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. These included making the nation self-sufficient and solving the problems people are facing. He had taken some steps which reflect his policies and ambitions. He has transferred several organizations that were operating in the red because of government control to the private sector, and has solved the 75-year old quarrel between the states over river waters. He has also reformed the foreign exchange system and the system to distribute federal allocations among the states. Now, with his new industrial policy, he has removed all the hurdles that blocked the establishment of new industries in the country. There is no doubt that the government is facing a grave economic crisis, and that the Gulf war has badly affected Pakistan's economy. Cancellation of foreign aid has made the government's problem even worse. However, the firm stance the prime minister has taken in facing all these problems, and his moving the nation towards greater efficiency assure us that we will overcome all these problems. Unfortunately, our former governments had tied up our national economy with foreign debts so badly that our ambitions for self-sufficiency were devastated. We had been depending on others for so long that we had forgotten what self-sufficiency is. It is very encouraging news that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has changed the wrong policies of the past and has adopted the policy for the nation to live with dignity, think about its own benefits, and reject any foreign aid. All industrial organizations that were nationalized have been transferred to the public sector. This has helped our industrialists to gain more confidence, and this policy will also help the government to get rid of its billion rupees deficit. This is not mere thoughts, this is based on facts that if such free policies are implemented in the area of industry and trade, and the government continues the policy of relying on its own resources, then we will be able to stand on our own two feet within a short time, and get rid of the old habits of living on foreign aid. After getting rid of foreign aid and foreign debts, and with our nuclear program, we will be able to ignore pressure from any superpower in the area of any developmental program.

U.S. Pressure Seen Hindering Missile Program*91AS1017F Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 4 May 91
p 1, 7*

[Article: "U.S. Pressure on Other Countries To End Pakistan's Missile Program"]

[Text] Islamabad (Correspondent)—It appears that the U.S. Government and Congress have started putting pressure on various countries to stop Pakistan's missile program. The NAWA-I-WAQT has learned that the United States has added the missile program to Pakistan's nuclear program and its government is pressuring these nations to support its efforts against these programs. China tops this list. It was learned that Ronald F. Le Man, the director of the U.S. agency on arms control and weapons nonproliferation, noted Pakistan's missile program while explaining the U.S. policy on arms control and expressed his concern over the program. Several other U.S. organizations, including the Carnegie Foundation, have published several reports on arms control. These reports mention Pakistan's nuclear capability and its ability to build missiles. These reports also detail China's technical assistance to Pakistan for the purpose of building Ghiza and Hatf missiles. However, these reports have not expressed any concern over India's building Agni, Prithvi, and Nag missiles. India's Prithvi has a range of 600 km. India has announced its plans to build a new intercontinental missile with a range of 1,000 km, and it is currently working on this project.

India is trying to develop the capability to launch nuclear bombs with intercontinental missiles. Our sources in the capital have learned that the United States started its propaganda against Pakistan's missiles after the Gulf war and it does not want Pakistan to build missiles for its own defense. The NAWA-I-WAQT has learned from Chinese diplomatic sources that China will not stop its assistance to Pakistan because of U.S. pressure. China has been supplying weapons to Pakistan for the last three decades. It was the Chinese assistance that helped Pakistan build T-59 tanks domestically. Pakistan also was able to make a modern tank, Khalid-2000, with China's assistance. China also provided technical assistance in building Ghiza and Hatf missiles. We have learned that the United States has started to put pressure on China and its Western allies to cease the supplying of parts necessary for building missiles. There is also concern that the United States will pressure China, just as it pressured France, to not to supply a nuclear plant to Pakistan.

Government Urged To Continue Nuclear Program*91AS1155A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 19 Jun 91
p 3*

[Editorial: "Nuclear Program a Must for National Security"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has expressed his satisfaction with the results of Senate Chairman Wasim

Sajjad's trip to the United States. He said that this trip has resulted in laying a new foundation for Pakistani-United States relations. Mr. Sajjad visited the United States at a time when the relations between the two countries had become very cold. The United States has suspended its aid to Pakistan, and there seems to be very little hope of reinstating this aid. The United States objects to Pakistan's nuclear program and has demanded that it stop its nuclear program and sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty if it wants U.S. aid. How much success the Pakistani delegation had in presenting its case in the United States cannot be said at this point. However, the U.S. Congress had put India under the Pressler Amendment after passing a resolution. Until now, this amendment was used only to restrict aid to Pakistan. Now India will also be treated like Pakistan. India cannot get U.S. aid until the U.S. President issues a certificate of assurance. The Pakistani delegation had an important victory even though this resolution is a negative development. The Pakistani delegation also got the U.S. approval for a five-nation conference. On the whole, this delegation played an important role in breaking the present stalemate between the two countries. However, there are many hurdles in improving our relations with the United States. The U.S. government and its various laws are, of course, the major hurdle. More problems are created by the pro-India and pro-Israel lobbies. India has established a very effective lobby after 40 years of efforts. Israel benefits from the U.S. Jews' economic supremacy and has blocked Pakistan's path because of its enmity toward Islam. One of Pakistan's flaws is that it is an Islamic nation, and there is a strong prejudice against Islam and the Muslims in the United States. The fire of this prejudice is further fed by many active groups there. In this context, Pakistan's atomic bomb is being touted as an "Islamic Bomb." A seminar on the minority status of the Christians in Islamic countries was held by some Christian groups in the Congress building last week. The Christian speakers let it out against Islamic countries and called the Muslims "narrow-minded, untrustworthy, and intolerant." According to newspaper reports, this seminar is encouraging action against the Muslims. It is obvious that Pakistan will have a difficult time lobbying for itself in this atmosphere and Pakistan will have to work very hard in order to change this situation. India has the continued support of such Congressmen as Solaraz who gets election contributions from the Indian government. He is continually grateful to India. He has even said that he could become India's president. Pakistan does not have such support in the United States. The activities of Pakistan's ambassador in Washington are almost negligible. Our government should think about finding a better replacement for him. Hundreds of thousands of Pakistanis live in the United States. They should be organized and mobilized for lobbying efforts. Who can be better ambassador of Pakistan than them? It is unfortunate that none of our governments ever made concrete plans to use them. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government even played a part in dividing these Pakistanis. None of the political parties had any branch

abroad before the 1970's. When the PPP organized itself abroad, other political and religious parties also became active among the overseas Pakistanis. This has left the Pakistani communities divided. Meanwhile, Indian citizens are not involved in any political problems and consider themselves Indians first and last. They work for India's benefits, while our Pakistani brothers are busy with various political and sectarian differences. There is no idea what kind of impression our previous government left in the United States and what kind of derogatory statements its top officials have given to the United States after their dismissal that it has become difficult to rectify the problem. Anyhow, the present government should not be satisfied with the Pressler Amendment being imposed on India. India will not be hurt much as it gets very little aid from the United States. Its nuclear program is so well developed that, according to the former officials of the U.S. CIA, India has enough Plutonium to make 100 atomic bombs. Even when the two countries sign the NPT [Non-Proliferation Treaty] agreement, which Nawaz Sharif has requested in his five-nation conference plan, Pakistan will still be short-changed. According to most Western assumptions, Pakistan has just developed capability to make nuclear bombs and if this program stops at the present stage, Pakistan will not have the defense capability to face the Indian challenge. India is very much ahead of Pakistan in the area of traditional weapons and its blue water navy is as good as that of the superpowers. It also has stockpiled nuclear bombs. The only answer to this threat is for Pakista to have atomic bombs. Signing any agreement with India or accepting the U.S. pressure without the nuclear deterrent would be dangerous for Pakistan's safety. Our government should not act in a hurry for any agreement. Pakistan's safety, national existence, and independence demand that we should not be duped into signing a nuclear non-proliferation agreement. We must make it clear to the United States that our nuclear program is necessary for our safety.

Relations With U.S. Reviewed

91AS1215C Lahore THE NATION in English 4 Jul 91
p 6

[Article by Dr. Manzur Ejaz: "Pak-U.S. Ties: Last Round of Talks"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The Pakistani delegation led by Mr. Wasim Sajjad, Chairman of the Senate, came to Washington with no prepared schedule. The Pakistan Embassy tried frantically to fix their meetings with American officials. Given the changed global atmosphere, Pakistan's Embassy in Washington cannot exhibit a matching success of the last decade in this respect.

Pakistan is not a Front-Line State and hence cannot get the attention it is used to. In our view Pakistan's success in the diplomatic line of work was not primarily a function of the Embassy or the Ambassador, rather it was America's own self-interest; notwithstanding the fact that an efficient and effective diplomatic corps can

facilitate this process. As a matter of fact, they were reasonably successful in getting Mr. Sajjad to meet the Secretary of State, Mr. James Baker, and the Vice-President, Dan Quayle, beside the working meetings with the officials of the State Department.

To start with, success of these talks was doubtful. The outcome of these talks are still unknown but the circumstantial evidence is not very encouraging.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had lowered the expectations even before the mission under Wasim Sajjad's leadership left for Washington by saying that Pakistan is not looking for economic aid, rather it wants to open the channels of communications. Observers believe that Vice-President, Dan Quayle had made it clear to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that there was no possibility of breaking the deadlock over American aid to Pakistan while they met in India. It may have been communicated to Pakistan that President Bush may not be able to certify, as required by the Congress, that Pakistan is not producing atomic weapons.

Given that American aid to Pakistan cannot be resumed, what were the other main problems on which communication channels had to be opened? Nawaz Sharif's statement and Mr. Wasim Sajjad's stress on opening the channels of communications implied that the channels of communications had been damaged in some respect. Our speculation is that Pakistan was trying to develop an understanding on the following issues:

(1) Who was going to lead the military after the retirement of Mirza Aslam Beg and how that military leadership is going to react in a situation like the Persian Gulf War and how it is going to address the American concern about the ongoing Pakistani nuclear programme. Will Pakistan play any role in the future security arrangements of Middle East? Will Pakistan be rewarded for its participation and in which way will it be rewarded?

(2) What type of a political solution in Afghanistan is mutually acceptable to Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran. The Pakistani delegation might have brought up the issue of domestic pressure of religious fundamentalists on the present government and sought an increasing role for the religious sections of the *Mujahideen*.

(3) Will America continue supporting Pakistan in international financial organisations for future loans and economic aid?

(4) How is Shariat Bill going to play in Pakistan's economic modernisation programme.

Pakistan's success in these negotiations was limited to patiently listening to American positions on the aforesaid points in the backdrop of the following:

(1) There is a tremendous change in the American attitude towards world affairs after the Persian Gulf War. A Pakistani visitor who was educated in America and had visited America several times noticed a dramatic change in his recent visit. My own experience

verifies his perception. An American friend ecstatically characterised the Americans as a nation of warriors. This is a generic expression of mass feelings in America prevailing at this time. Such feelings go to the highest level of power;

(2) Not only has the cold war come to an end but the main adversary the Soviet Union, is in serious trouble. Probably Americans have more influence in the Soviet Union than they might have in many of their ex- allies like Pakistan in the developing world. When they can influence the Soviet policies and hence the policies of Soviet-nurtured foreign states more effectively from within, they do not need secondary sources.

(3) In the pre-cold war era America wanted to keep the pro-Soviet countries under pressure. In this context, besides other things, Pakistan's usefulness in American foreign policy was to keep India under pressure. There is no need for the Americans to keep India under pressure after the demise of the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, India may become more important in American policy due to factors like:

(a) India is better equipped and eager to counter Chinese influence in the area if it becomes necessary in the future. At present, the Chinese have also become dependent on the American consumer market. United States is the largest international trading partner of China at present outweighing Japan. The Americans might have some reservations about the human right records of the Chinese Government but ultimately a partnership might emerge between China and USA to counter the Japanese influence.

(b) India can and is ready to provide all the goodies to America for which Pakistan was the only vendor in the area. For example, India can be perceived a more reliable partner in any future Middle-East crisis, given the misgiving of public opinion and rhetoric of our military chief during the American military campaign against Iraq.

(c) India is much more acceptable to America's closest ally, Israel, in the region.

(d) Last but not the least, is the vast Indian market which the Americans would like to take advantage of. The main problem in this context has been the Indian legacy of public sector domination and stringent conditions on foreign investments. Investment conditions are rapidly changing in India.

Pakistan has one thing going for it; the momentum of closer relations with the U.S. in the past decade. There are still significant pockets of Congress and the political elite which are sympathetic to Pakistan. Such elements were successful in handing over a negative victory to Pakistan by putting the similar condition on American aid to India as on Pakistan. However, the size of the American aid to India is insignificant as compared to Pakistan.

It is hard to say whether this 'negative victory' was the result of Mr. Sajjad's negotiations or a product of general political climate in Washington's power circles. On the other issues, following observations can be made.

- Several observers believe that Pakistan has already accepted the American prescription to resolve the Afghanistan conflict and it is only a matter of time and tactics that their policy is implemented.
- Pakistan's nuclear programme still remains an unsettling factor in Pak-American relations. The possibility of change in American position is almost nil. On the other hand, the Americans have put the maximum pressure on China for cancelling the sale of M9's to Pakistan.
- Americans will continue supporting Pakistan in international financial organisations. Such support is more of a theoretical nature since Pakistan has not prepared any projects for which it needs funding.

U.S. Seen Opposing 'Sovereignty of Muslim States'

91AS1215F Karachi DAWN in English 13 Jul 91 p 11

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "Our Policy Options"]

[Text] When writing about public policies we cannot simply presume that their formulators have complete freedom of action either in taking decisions or implementing them whatever the character and composition of governments on whose behalf they act. The theoretical sovereignty of the state enunciated by the masters of political science had practical limitations even at the time of their enunciation. An essential attribute of the state which distinguishes it from all other associations, has tended to decline in importance with the passage of time although the frontiers of the state system now extend to the remotest corner of the inhabited earth. Some states are no longer more equal than others, they are unsurpassed in their superiority to the rest of the subservient majority.

The revolutionary change in power equation in an age of independent sovereignties so-called, is a resultant of the unprecedented development of science and technology in the West, leaving the newly emergent states of the East in a state of abject servility to sustain their economies, for whose improvement they themselves displayed no dynamic enterprise an innovative effort.

Preservation of the status quo in which the ruling elite had a vital stake was the line of least resistance to which it strictly adhered. And for satisfying the rising expectations of the masses, it relied on external support. Even the benefit of this external aid did not reach its proclaimed beneficiaries. The mounting debt burden not only crippled the economies but also created vast disparities in the social order. It set in motion a process that inevitably led to a decline of state power in the management of its affairs.

Eventually it proved to be the thin end of the wedge for the penetration of extraneous influences that undermined its authority and compromised its sovereignty. Not all the fiction of sovereign equality embodied in the United Nations Charter can disguise the fact of glaring inequality writ large on its own charter. Not all of them are, however, equally unequal. Some of them by dint of their regional dominance stemming from size, and material and military resources, have a powerful edge over others, able to assert their identity and independence in relation to the super powers, or at any rate, resist their pressure.

The very fact of consciousness of their dominant position acts as a stabilising factor in politics and provides a perpetual leaven to an over-riding patriotism. This primarily is the reason for their predominance as centres of superpower attraction. India is a supreme example of this gravitational pull.

Pakistan is a case study in superpower-small state relationship which does not stand on par with its large neighbour and is therefore relatively less influential and positively more pliant. Although qualified sovereignty is a contradiction in terms, we can find no means of redefining a concept which is supposed to govern interstate relationship.

Self-reliance about which we are now becoming increasingly conscious, whether or not equally concerned in its attainment, is an essential characteristic of sovereignty. With a debt ridden economy it is more an academic than a practical proposition. From a meagre \$50,000 in 1950 Pakistan's external liability has increased to a massive \$20 billion in 1991, underlying our growing dependence.

We looked to the West in general and America in particular, instead of divining inwards to search for a solution to our problems by reducing their dimensions and living within our means. Have we the will and the courage imbued with the spirit of patriotism and national self-respect, to stand on our own feet and hold our heads high? The behaviour of our governments from the very early years showed that we were lacking in both. It has been so from the times of Liaquat Ali Khan to Mian Nawaz Sharif.

Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to Moscow was first postponed and then cancelled not by the dictates of national necessity but in the interest of Western strategy. Even when we were free to make our decisions, we allowed our freedom to be hamstrung. The men who controlled the strings of power had neither the imagination nor the insight to perceive the interests of the country.

Taking their cue from London, Ghulam Mohammed and Sir Zafrullah Khan prevailed upon the Prime Minister to accept a subsequent invitation from Washington in preference to a prior invitation from Moscow. Liaquat may not have compromise our foreign policy but his response to the American gesture whatever might have been the compulsions that evoked it, was a pointer to the shape of things to come. After his disappearance from

the scene, Ghulam Mohammed and Sir Zafrullah carried Pakistan into the American camp.

The dismissal of Khwaja Nazimuddin suited the convenience of Ghulam Mohammed and the appointment of Mohammed Ali Bogra served the interests of Washington, neither of them cared to ponder over the dangerous implications of these decisions to the economic and military future of the country in a bipolar world where alignment with one power was an invitation to alienation of the other.

Once we had tied ourselves to the American chariot wheel, it was difficult to unite ourselves from it. Through U.S. aid Ghulam Mohammed had sought to correct the economic imbalance in his financially balanced budget by pursuing a policy of direct involvement with Washington. The coup, he successfully attempted, enabled him to remain in power without having to reorganise the economy by a reform of the land system and the adoption of a progressive fiscal policy combined with a slashing of defence expenditure he had promised at a secret meeting of the political heirarchs—a promise never meant to be implemented but intended to be used as a veiled threat in case they were reluctant to go along with him in his drive to establish his bureaucratic hegemony in Pakistan.

To the people of Pakistan he was made to appear by his lieutenants as a financial wizard. To him American aid was the most convenient substitute for an enlightened fiscal policy, and as for foreign policy of which it was a natural corollary, he was prepared to leave it in the care of Washington, and let the country be pushed along the slippery path of subservience.

Once foreign policy had slipped out of our control, foreign interference in the formulation of economic policy had become unavoidable. The preparation of the very first five-year plan had proclaimed that we were not masters in our house. It had been conceived in the diehard tradition of laissez faire of the Harvard School.

Politics which is the hand-maid of economic forces within the country became the instrument of economic power outside. This was the primary reason why political instability reflected in frequent changes of government did not alter the course of our policies. A succession of governments was not even remotely related to doctrinal differences.

Iskander Mirza who manipulated them was the true heir to the legacy of Ghulam Mohammed, a loyal servant of Her Majesty's government in London, and a 'yes man' of the President in Washington. The attitude of the governments in the Hungarian and the Suez crises was illustrative of the limitations on our sovereignty imposed by the pro-western alignment which did not cease even after the dictatorial regime of Field Marshal Ayub Khan had supplanted the democratic dispensation under his predecessor, who, too, while adhering to the form had not disguised contempt for democracy.

The architect of his economic policy, Mohammed Shoaib, was the apostle of free enterprise, and even foreign policy had not witnessed a visible change. The change in China policy was an act of necessity for which we had to pay a heavy price. It became patently obvious when the United States cut off our aid on the outbreak of the 65 war. This threat has constantly hung on our heads as the sword of Democles.

American neutrality in the 1971 war with India was tantamount to its connivance and even complicity in the dismemberment of the country at the hands of a superior power armed and assisted by a super power. Unfree to pursue our national objectives in peace, we were shackled in war to defend our frontiers. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's open advocacy of socialism was the first major departure from the laissez faire philosophy in domestic policy and his championship of friendship with China a decisive break in the rigid mould of foreign policy.

The swing of the pendulum was not to America's liking and America was quick to react by refusing to lift the arms embargo on Pakistan. Again, in 1979 Pakistan was included in the excluded list of the recipients of American aid.

It was also the year of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Not until General Zia-ul-Haq decided to get the country involved in the imbroglio was the aid restored. Of the fateful decision America was the principal beneficiary and Pakistan the principal victim. The massive infiltration of arms into the country and consequent deterioration of the law and order situation was a direct outcome of our involvement. We tried to pull the chestnuts out of the Afghan fire for the United States and had our own fingers burnt in the bargain.

The latest weapon in the American armoury is our Nuclear Programme. We have been singled out for the attack while India which had exploded the device as early as 1974, and Israel which is reported to have a stockpile of the bombs, have been given the most favoured national treatment. When I asked Senator John Glenn at the end of an interview in his office, as to what would be America's reaction to a nuclear attack on its territory by Mexico, he angrily replied, "It dare not."

Then why do you believe that Pakistan can harbour any such designs against its powerful neighbour? Recent developments and the war on Iraq have established beyond doubt that American aim is to undermine the sovereignty of the Muslim states and give Israel, its pampered child, a free hand to outreach its jurisdiction to our very borders in collaboration with our erstwhile foe.

In an unipolar world dominated by the United States, states like Pakistan must strive for a new framework of security of small countries in South and South East Asia and the Middle East with China's backing. Even the Soviet Union will have second thoughts on its present low profile after the dust raised by the storm in Eastern Europe settled down.

Relations With U.S. Remain Strained

'Pax Americana' Resented

91AS1289A Karachi DAWN in English 17 Jul 91 p 11

[Article by M.H. Askari: "Pakistan and New World Order"]

[Text] In a recent interview, Mr Akram Zaki, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, made the assertion that "aid was not all" that was in common between Pakistan and the United States and that the Senate Chairman, Mr Wasim Sajjad, in no sense went to Washington seeking a resumption of economic and military assistance.

On an earlier occasion, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif himself stressed that "I have broken the beggar's bowl." He also maintained that regardless of the aid relationship there were a number of common values which were shared by Islamabad and Washington. On the face of it, however, once the aid factor is removed there would appear to be virtually no other dimension to the U.S.-Pakistan relationship which began shortly after Pakistan gained independence and now appears to have run into an impasse.

There is a general tendency among Pakistani politicians and intellectuals to remind the Americans of their "anti-Muslim" and "pro-Jewish" stance. This sentiment was most widely expressed during the Gulf War even though Pakistan's official policy was clearly at variance with it. In the circumstances, the talk of "shared values" between Pakistan and the United States and the statement that "aid is not all" are difficult to understand.

With the suspension of American aid, emotions now tend to be more raw than ever. The talk of the New World Order suggests that for countries like Pakistan which have been dependent upon American aid the situation is not what it used to be and this also tends to serve as an irritant. It was the blunt statement of Senator Grassely at the Pak-American Association reception in Washington in honour of the Pakistan Parliamentary delegation, making it clear that the very basis of the United States' relations with Pakistan may have changed in the context of the New World Order, that apparently provoked the delegation's leader Chowdhry Abdul Ghafor.

The Chowdhry, it seems, put aside the text of his prepared speech and resorted to an expression of his feelings in a tone which—according to one version—had a strong flavour of Punjabi vernacular. He reportedly reminded the Senator of Pakistan's steadfast support to United States in awkward situations such as the one that developed in Afghanistan and otherwise helping it to achieve its strategic objectives during the Cold War. He obviously hoped that his American interlocutors would have known better and displayed a greater sense of gratitude.

However, the reality is that in two of the most critical areas of its national policy—the nuclear programme and relations with India—Pakistan has to accept the framework of the New World Order within which Washington now intends to conduct its foreign relations. Incidentally by an interesting coincidence, the term *Pax Americana* has been used both in Pakistan and India to express the perception of the United States' own role in the New World Order.

A senior Karachi journalist used it during the Worldnet Interview sponsored by the U.S. Consulate General in Karachi on July 10 while discussing the New World Order with Ambassador Thomas Pickering, United States Permanent Representative in the United Nations. Earlier, Chakravarthi Raghavan, Geneva Representative of the Third World Network Features, writing in the New Delhi weekly, *MAINSTREAM*, equated the New World Order with *Pax Americana* while making a reassessment of North-South relations in the post-Gulf War situation.

The American reaction to the suggestion was forcefully expressed when in the Worldnet Interview Ambassador Pickering firmly said: "No, of course, it (the New World Order) is not at all a *Pax Americana* if it is anything it is a *Pax United Nationa....*" Ambassador Pickering went on to elaborate that the whole effort was to build the idea of international collective security into the foreign policy of all (emphasis added) of the countries of the world so that "dispute settlement, particularly regional dispute settlement, can be accomplished through international mechanisms."

He also made the unusual claim that though the UN Charter was drawn up in mid 1940s, "it is only now beginning to have its opportunity to operate effectively, particularly in the Security Council." His statement appeared to imply that with the United States, because of the end of the cold war, having acquired the position of first among equals, the Security Council is now functional without friction and more cohesively; no Nikita Khrushchev would now ever be in a position to take off his shoe and bang the negotiating table with it!

In the context of India-Pakistan relations the United States has progressively veered round to the view that all outstanding disputes, including Kashmir, should be settled bilaterally. Washington expects, as Nicholas Platt, Ambassador designate to Pakistan, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 26, India and Pakistan to abandon their "animosities" and actively pursue "a lasting friendship." Ambassador Platt who is expected to replace Robert Oakley in Islamabad in August, confirmed that the United States would continue to encourage Pakistan and India to continue their confidence-building measures which were initiated during tensions over Kashmir in 1990 and thus work towards a relationship of mutual trust.

The major stumbling block in U.S.-Pakistan relations continues to be Pakistan's nuclear development programme. In the meantime, there is a growing feeling that while the United States might be prepared to live with India possessing nuclear weapons, it would want Pakistan to dismantle its nuclear programme. This view was apparently reflected in Senator Grassely's speech at the Pak-American Association reception for the Pakistani parliamentary delegation. The Senator reportedly made it clear that Pakistan was going to be judged independently of the India nuclear programme.

Incidentally, in May 1979 was Ambassador Thomas Pickering, Assistant Secretary of State at the time, who stated during a Congressional testimony that Pakistan's enrichment programme was not justified by its nuclear energy needs. He was quoted as having said: "We are concerned therefore that the Pakistani programme is not peaceful but related to an effort to develop a nuclear-explosive capability." Subsequently, Washington once again terminated its aid to Pakistan and did not agree to resume it until well after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The late Gen. Zia-ul-Haq rejected the Carter Administration's offer of 400 million dollar aid in 1980 but accepted President Reagan's offer of an aid package totalling 3.2 billion dollars over a six-year period. In granting Pakistan exemption from the Symington Amendment, the U.S. Administration was hopeful that the aid package would deter Pakistan from pursuing its nuclear programme and prevent it from conducting a nuclear test. The Reagan Administration agreed to extend aid to Pakistan effective October 1987 by offering a further six-year package totalling 4.02 billion dollars. However, there was a slight delay in the passage of U.S. legislation leading to temporary suspension of aid, but at the end of December 1987 the Reagan Administration agreed to certify that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear explosive device.

Nonetheless, Dr Leonard S. Spector in his study *Nuclear Ambitions* (published last year) maintains that when Ms Benazir Bhutto took office as Prime Minister in December 1988, "she inherited not only a de facto nuclear weapons capability (attained during the Zia regime) but also the increasing risk that within a year American aid would be terminated" unless Pakistan agreed to modify its nuclear programme. Washington has lately refused to testify that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear explosive device. The U.S. aid has once again been suspended and seems unlikely to be resumed. Ambassador designate Platt has stated, "we certainly hope that certification can be issued but will not compromise our non-proliferation principles to do so."

In regard to its nuclear programme Pakistan is obviously faced with a most awkward choice, in fact Hobson's choice: it has to live indefinitely without the economic

and military assistance to which it has become accustomed over a period of over 35 years or provide Washington with something more tangible than a routine assurance that the nuclear programme is peaceful.

Regardless of the situation on the ground, the perception in the west is that Pakistan has been able to develop a nuclear weapons capability. In fact, it is even insinuated that Pakistan has developed the capability to assist others. Nonetheless, it is recognised that (in the words of Spector) in order to avoid an all-out nuclear arms race with India and the risk of irretrievably alienating the United States, Pakistan is likely to refrain from nuclear testing.

It is to be hoped that the pressures of the domestic problems and the process of acquiring for his Government more effective legal and constitutional powers to deal with the deteriorating law and order situation will give Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif enough respite to follow up on his proposals for regional de-nuclearisation. He can seek encouragement from the fact that a feeling is growing in India that the proposals, in the words of a former senior Ambassador and one-time Secretary of the Indian External Affairs Ministry's policy-planning committee, A.K. Damodaran, are a major development in regional diplomacy. Damodaran believes that India should accept the invitation to the five-nation conference since by doing so India may just about "salvage an agreement acceptable to both India and Pakistan simply because the great powers are reaching a position of nuclear unanimity."

Alienation Deepening

91AS1289B Lahore *THE NATION* in English 22 Jul 91
p 6

[Article by Brigadier A.R. Siddiqi: "U.S.-Pak Ties: 'Agonising Uncertainty'"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] United States-Pakistan security ties appear to have entered an era of agonising uncertainty—call it ambiguity or ambivalence if you will. The outlook remains grim and not so grim, dark and not so dark depending on how one might like to look at it. There is hope on either side for some providential intervention to arrest the slide downhill. This must happen before the Humpty-Dumpty like fall, so that the task of putting the pieces together again is not too difficult for normal diplomacy. The U.S. Government (USG), vis-a-vis Pakistan, is said to be in the peculiar state wherein even "individuals basically supportive" of enhancing U.S.-Pakistan relations, see "no hope" of a constructive change until the presidential certification about Pakistan's non-possession of a nuclear device is "accomplished."

Pessimists see "little sympathy" for Pakistan and "no inclination" to alter the "current suspension guidelines."

If anything, there is a tendency to be "less flexible" and possibly even "tougher" as time drags on.

Pak Army officers no longer are to be invited by Command and General Staff College/War College for advanced studies—even if the Government of Pakistan (GOP) is "willing" to pay for their "schooling." In other words, they would be non grata—a position unimaginably distressing at a purely human relations level.

United States Government (USG) is said to be "focused" on other issues—continuing peace process in the Middle East, support of Kurdish refugees, relief efforts in Bangladesh and withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Gulf. One more Afghanistan, it would be hard to deny, would have been enough to offset all these constraints and make Pakistan, once again, a most-favoured nation. Alas! Afghanistan is there no longer; and the U.S.-USSR cold war has ended to reduce Pakistan to a mere pawn on the global chessboard.

Sweet are indeed the uses of adversity. And who would appreciate it better than Pakistan trapped in the post-adversity (Afghanistan) situation which, in a strange manner, has placed it in a near-adversarial juxtaposition with its friends, ally and armourer—the United States of America. The United States knows, and is convinced, that Pakistan's nuclear programme has continued "unabated" since October 1990, to split U.S.-Pakistan security relationship into pre- and post-October 1990 periods.

The USG no longer insists on on-site inspection of Pakistan's nuclear (weapon) facility (Kahuta) for it has all the information it wants via its own sources—artificial and human. It would therefore settle for nothing less than a complete deactivation (a euphemism for dismemberment) and abandonment of Pakistan's nuclear programme.

Until then no Presidential certification and no assistance of any kind even of "repairable components and spares." A legal ruling is understood to have determined that any assistance rendered in replacing such components is specifically precluded by the Pressler Amendment—the Draconian law forbidding aid to a nuclear-branded Pakistan.

The U.S.-armed and oriented Pakistan Air Force (PAF) is naturally the worst to suffer from the embargo under the Pressler Amendment. The PAF has "600 high-dollar" components—engines gearboxes, brake assemblies, altimeters, etc.—in U.S. "bonded storage" awaiting shipment once the suspension is lifted. When this would or could be, is not known. The end result of the embargo on PAF's combat capability is the progressive denigration of the operational readiness of the F-16 fleet.

What would one attribute the dire situation to? To the wrath of a superpower? To the wages of over-dependence and misplaced trust? Or pure naivete and exaggerated good faith? Reason fails here and rhetoric per force comes into play for want of a better argument.

The Army Aviation Corp's 20 Cobra helicopter gunship would be similarly affected because the telescopic sight units (TSU's) used for night fighting capability will not be available until the certification is made.

The United States needs all its money to help the Kurdish refugees, flood affectees of Bangladesh, and victims of civil wars on the horn of Africa. The allocation of \$91.9 million for Pakistan through FY91, is "a prime target" for working (diverting) capital required for humanitarian causes in the Third World. Unconfirmed officially, the allocation may have been already reprogrammed for causes greater than helping an old friend like Pakistan.

Here arises the question: where is the guarantee that the Presidential certification would indeed entail the release of funds needed elsewhere to meet contingencies of a more urgent nature within mounting budgetary constraints? It could be hoped that Pakistan will get the approved allocations. The inhibitory and negative impact of budgetary constraints would be hard to dismiss, however.

In the worst case scenario, this would leave Pakistan neither here nor there. Neither in heaven nor in hell. This would also strip it of its last surviving semblance of respectability, no matter how deceptive, its tenacity in proclaiming its nuclear innocence confers on it. The proud recipient of one of Pakistan's highest civil awards, the Hilal-i-Imtiaz—Representative Stephen Solarz (D-NY) determinedly leads the drive to prevent Pakistan from being allocated any money in 1992, if the certification is not made by the time the 92 budget is finalised (October 1991).

Sophisticated combat hardware like F-16 vital components apart, the USG has also cancelled the shipment of 1,500 jeeps which Pakistan had already purchased at \$800 apiece, from excess U.S. stocks in Germany. These jeeps reportedly have already been sold to another country (South Korea? Philippines?)

And this is only the "tip of the iceberg." There are already potential customers for other materials frozen in Pakistan's FMS (Foreign Ministry Sales) pipeline. The frozen hardware include a number of "big-ticket" items successfully tested through the Gulf war such as F-16 and P-3C Orions; 155 mm Howitzers, AIM-9 air-to-air missiles. TOW anti-tank missiles and launcher. Many a potential customer, rich Gulf states in particular, have already queued up for the battle-tested equipment. Funds generated by the sale of this equipment would revert to the USG unlike grant-funded transactions or purchases made on concessional credit term, "ultimately forgiven."

A major effort is underway in Washington to "document" the "funding audit trail" on all major FMS deliveries.

For as long as the "certification ball" remains in Pakistan's court, there is little likelihood of any relaxation on Washington's part. "Movement towards resolution must come from Islamabad."

As time passes, even commercial licences may be "re-evaluated." Up til now, commercial licences having passed the "legal litmus test" provided Pakistan a source for key spares and "major end" items duly paid for from national funds. PAF's Basic Ordering Agreement (BOA) exists because it is based on a commercial licence. However, the apprehended reversal of current policy would ineluctably cut Pakistan off from any U.S. supplier even on a commercial basis. All FMS transactions over 25 million dollars must have the Administration's approval.

In a situation as stark and brutal, one would rather be philosophical—hoping for the best and preparing for the worst. There is little prospect of yet another Afghanistan-like crisis arising on the geostrategic horizon as far as one can see. The Dullesian era when Pakistan was pampered by the USG as the keystone of the Northern (Baghdad Pact, later CENTO) and the Southern (SEATO) tiers, might as well have belonged to a mythical past: it is wholly beyond recall. Even the halcyon days of the Carter era when an army general could dismiss a \$400 million aid package as "peanut" and get away with it, followed by a 2-term presidency of Ronald Reagan look more or less like a dream—out of the present world of unipolar geopolitics.

Is this then the end or the beginning of the end of a cordial U.S.-Pakistan relationship or the damning of a new era of bilateralism based on a larger awareness and acceptance of the newly emerging realities of the situation? Pakistan is no longer what it had been until 1971 (sitting astride east and west) and between 1979-1988 as the frontline state vis-a-vis the Soviets in Afghanistan and the bulwark against the advance of the 'Evil Empire' southward. The United States for its part, no longer faces the perceived Soviet threat and looks (and perhaps feels) like the master of the universe. There is no visible challenge to its power. This should not be taken to mean, however, that there will not be a challenge ever, for there may well be one, bigger than could be immediately visualised and sooner than imagined.

Challenges, especially challenges grave in magnitude and complexity have a way of materialising dramatically at the most unlikely, unearthly hour. They come out of the clear blue sky. Call it the "unfolding of the divine will" (St. Augustine) or nemesis or in materialist-dialectical terms the cumulative effect of all the big and small blunders committed inadvertently without sufficient awareness of the consequences.

What then must Pakistan do? Abandon its nuclear programme to prove thereby that it had all along been up to potential nuclear mischief. Or persist in it to incur the abiding wrath of the United States. Assuredly, the U.S. aid is not Pakistan's inalienable right. The United States

is under no obligation, moral, international or bilateral, to maintain its aid-related ties with Pakistan. Relations between any two countries are always a matter of mutual convenience and interest. There are no permanent friends or enemies, only permanent national interests.

Pakistan may never be the same again in U.S. perception as through the past over four decades (the rough-and-smooth notwithstanding). A new equation will have to be worked out, therefore, on the basis of a larger degree of generosity on the part of one (United States) and realism on the part of the other (Pakistan).

Driving Pakistan to the wall, which is what the United States (Congress more than the Administration) seems to be doing is neither good diplomacy, nor good manners. The way the United States is putting the screws on Pakistan will lead only to deeper alienation—apparently more at Pakistan's cost than of the United States. When the question of national honour (generally more perceived than real but always a factor to reckon with) is involved, however, cost would mean little or nothing. U.S.-Pakistan relations must, therefore, be redefined and refined to be mutually more meaningful, satisfying and enduring. Quiet diplomacy at the official level and 'supplemental' diplomacy through the non-official people-to-people channel can play a positive role and must be given a chance.

Last, the United States must not ignore the obligation it owes to noblesse oblige as the senior partner in the game.

Legislators Reduced to Begging

91AS1289C Lahore *THE NATION* in English 15 Jul 91
p 7

[Article by Manzur Ejaz: "Beggars Are Not Choosers"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Washington political circles were busy, in the first week of July, with the parliamentary delegations from Pakistan. A reception was held for the delegation by the Pak-American League headed by Dr Nisar Chaudhry and Dr Hafeez Javed. In a way the reception was very successful firstly, it was held in the prestigious Gold Room located in one of the Congress building, secondly, six Congressmen, and one Senator attended the reception. In this sense, Dr Nisar Chaudhry and Dr Hafeez Javed can rightly be proud of themselves.

The speeches made by the Senator and the Congressmen were very revealing. To start with, Senator Grassely very clearly communicated that Pakistan is not going to receive any preference over India. We think, between the lines, he was trying to say that eventually United States is going to let India have the nuclear weapons but Pakistan will have to dismantle its nuclear programme. Though the Nawaz Sharif Plan for regional negotiations is being considered but (Mr) Senator's tone reflected that Pakistan is going to be judged independent of the Indian nuclear programme.

His message was so clear that Chaudhry Abdul Gafoor, head of the parliamentary delegation, was irked and ignited [as published] to the point that he got distracted and took an emotional and somewhat undiplomatic discourse in his response. He put aside the prepared text and adopted the tone of rural 'sharik' who has been betrayed. He, just like a poor 'sharik', used taunts and taints of every kind which his English vocabulary permitted.

If this speech was delivered in Punjabi it would have been sounded like this: "Tuhadi...we stood by you on every occasion and today you are telling us that we and India are equal while India...Khasam...was having a love affair with your 'Sharik', Soviet Union." "Be-wafaoo! we choose you over Soviet Union when Liaqat Ali Khan came to Washington instead of going to Moscow and today you..." O Jhotay Sardaro, you were defeated in Vietnam despite your armada and if we had not taken the matters in our hands you could not have been able to force Soviet Union out of Afghanistan. We are the ones who destroyed the socialist system."

Congressmen also understood Punjabi flavour of Chaudhry Sahib's speech. Most of them kept their diplomatic tone intact but Congressman Jim Leach's characterisation of Pak-American relation as 'interesting' was noteworthy. American use of the word 'interesting' has many shades. Many a times it means that "I don't believe you and I disagree with you." Audience was quite amused by Chaudhry Sahib's speech but some were of the opinion that the Pakistani Government should hold some training sessions for the leaders who are going to deal with politicians and officials abroad. Some said there was nothing wrong with what Chaudhry Sahib said but the form of his delivery was not appropriate.

Some historians of Pak-American relations are of the opinion that United States was not very interested in Pakistan in the earlier periods. Pakistan needed economic and military aid, unavailable from UK and convinced the U.S. leaders to establish closer relations. Furthermore, political leaders and intellectuals should know very well that states establish relations on the basis of their self interests. The enemies of yesterday are friends of today and vice versa. Germany and the rest of Europe and North America fought two World Wars but are closer allies since World War II, who knows how these allies are going to relate to each other in next half century.

Furthermore, we all know the nature of relations between rich and poor, whether these relations are personal or political. The more prosperous seldom relate to the less prosperous on equal basis even if they are real brothers. It is a different matter when the rich needs the poor but entirely a different story when only the poor needs the help of the rich. Many times the old loyalties are forgotten for self-interest. Sometime back an ex-DC [Deputy Commissioner] of a district in Punjab told me a shocking story of a feudal who killed his driver to cover up some crime he had committed and who wanted to

implicate his opponents in a murder case. The driver and his forefathers had been loyally serving this feudal family for many generations. This story might appear to be an extreme case but the essence of relations of rich and poor is much closer to this. I don't know why Mr Chaudhry and other Pakistanis expect different rules of game in Pak-American relations. In addition, Mr Chaudhry should look at the political career in our own society. How many times a politician remembers those who have been instrumental in advancing his political earlier? [as printed] How many times the politicians keep their loyalties intact? Is it not true that politicians have constantly changed their loyalties in Pakistan? If self-interest is a driving force in most of human relations and more so in international politics why should American act differently. Probably, Chaudhry Sahib did not realise that he was preaching the virtues of self-interest when he was proudly informing the audience about aggressive privatisation programme of Pakistan. The essence of such a privatisation programme is that the self-interest of the individual (investors) can deliver more to the society than social programme derived on the basis of collective and moral values.

At the end of his speech, Chaudhry Sahib requested American help for the economic programmes of Pakistan. Mr Chaudhry! Beggars are not choosers.

U.S. 'Has Sold Its Soul'

91AS1289D Lahore THE NATION in English 15 Jul 91
p 7

[Article by Inayatullah: "Baker Beats a Retreat"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Baker's tours of the Middle East began soon after the end of the Gulf war. A victorious superpower picked up the gauntlet to finally resolve and settle the old intractable Palestinian issue. Although Americans had rejected Saddam's idea of a linkage between Kuwait and the occupied territories they could not overlook the logic of the sanctity of the UN Security Council resolutions. After all, the war against Iraq was fought on the basis of joint decisions taken in the Security Council. The resolutions of the highest world forum had to be implemented. Defiance of these decisions could not be tolerated. Saddam's military capability had to be decapitated. Iraq had to be taught a lesson. How dare a UN member state defy a Security Council order? How about the Security Council resolutions concerning Israel? The Arabs who were part of the Allied forces led by the United States would be justified in raising the issue. Something had to be done to accommodate some of their expectations.

There was yet another reason for wanting to resolve the old question of Arab-Israel relations. The great Gulf victory had provided a "window of opportunity" to settle the matter. The grateful Arabs would be more than inclined to listen to the victorious protector. Couldn't

they be prodded and pushed to extend a formal recognition to the state of Israel? Let Israel be accepted by them as a sister state. Let there be an end to hostility and such unwelcome measures as black-listing firms operating in or with the Jewish state. This will make Israel secure and free from the siege it had lived with, right from its birth. Arabs and Jews will enter into a new era of relationship. Such a relationship will help solve many a problem of the future, including availability of water and environmental issues. Here was the beginning of a new world-order in a part of the world riven with acrimony, strife and war. The sole superpower shall build a new scenario—a new world based on mutual understanding and confidence and herald an era of peace and harmony.

How to avail of this great opportunity? What may be the precise goals? How to go about it? The plan and the strategy were fortunately readily available. The ever-wise, ever-ready Henry Kissinger had already done his homework for the White House. In two crisp articles "The Post-War Agenda" and "The End-Game Scenario" he spelt out the targets and the procedure. His major points:

- Move quickly, strike while the iron is hot.
- Bring the grateful Pro-American Arabs into the negotiating process.
- Keep UN out (no harm in its notional [as printed] association by the presence of the Secretary-General as a fig leaf).
- Don't concede a Palestinian state. Instead create trusteeship under the Arab states in most of the occupied territories with Israel monitoring its demilitarisation. Part of the occupied territories should stay with Israel.
- Organise another Camp David for Israel's Arab neighbours.

A confident Baker hurried with his mission. Week after week he shuttled from one capital to another, to Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Israel, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait, even Turkey, Europe and USSR. Four hectic rounds of intense talks with the top leaders. He began with the proposition enshrined in the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The main plank of the strategy was "Land for Peace." A wave of hope arose in the hearts of the poor forlorn Palestinians. No, said Israel. We do not accept the formula. Never mind if it is based on the UN resolutions. We, however, are willing to talk. First bring the Arabs round to sit with us on the same table and no UN presence please—it is too risky, it will bring in old Security Council commitments. Baker understood the message. He suggested a conference which the loyal Arabs would attend initially as observers and UN too might send an observer. The Israeli Foreign Minister agreed. Shamir, however, rejected the idea despite levy protesting that the former had earlier approved of it. Israeli Prime Minister was though willing to concede a one-time conference only, with no follow-up, with no United Nations role in it and with only such Palestinian

representatives as were approved by him. In other words, Baker was badly rebuffed and told to go back home. Baker didn't give up. He brought the Soviet Foreign Minister into the process. In spite of the fact that USSR does not recognise Israeli, Bessmertnykh broke the tradition, visited Israel and promised a warm relationship between the two countries. Israel was happy. That would also expedite the exit of Jews from the Soviet Union. But there would be no compromise on the stand against Baker's propositions. In other words what it meant was "heads I win and tails you lose."

Baker returned empty-handed and disappointed. Everytime he visited Israel he saw new Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. His last land journey from Amman into the West Bank was particularly disturbing. He was a witness to a new Jewish settlement, inaugurated with much fanfare. In his report to the Congress, the Secretary of State bitterly complained against the Israeli effrontery and its unabashed impudence. These Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, he said, were the biggest obstacles in the way of the peace process. The Israelis were violating the Security Council resolutions and repudiating American advice.

Thousands of hectares of occupied territories have during the last two years been forcibly snatched from the helpless Palestinians. More than one hundred thousand Soviet Jews have already been settled there. The funny aspect of the operation is that funds for the immigrant Jews and for their settlement are provided by the USA.

Shamir has categorically stated he shall not withdraw from the occupied territories. Israeli thinking has been well described by Susan Sachs in a recent article published in the WASHINGTON POST in which she says "Again and again Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and his political allies have vowed that they will never give up the territories saying that these form part of Judea and Samaria, the Biblical land of Israel. 'We will not stop the settlements', said Knesset member and Shamir's ally Geula Cohen, 'we have already compromised on three quarters of our historic Palestine which is the country now called Jordan and that's enough compromise.'"

Cohen's remarks are ominous. Leave aside the occupied territories, Israel may in due course lay claim to Jordan also, with the plausible excuse of needing more space to absorb the flood of unending migration of Jews from the Soviet Union and other places.

In the meantime, despite American President's articulated desire to control the supply of arms in the Middle East, Mr Cheney, U.S. Defence Secretary, personally goes to Israel and assures the financing of 70 percent of the latest Arrow Missile system along with the transfer of a second Patriot Missile battery and 50 F-15 fighters. The huge additional annual military aid to Israel continues. The 1992 allocation has only recently been cleared by the American Congress.

At the other end of the spectrum, the hounded and harassed Palestinians, curfewed and confined to their wretched slums, deprived of remittances from their enterprising brethren in Kuwait and other Arab countries, denuded of educational and medical facilities, denied means of livelihood, somehow continue to keep up their exemplary spirit and their heroic fight for their rights. Their leaders fall prey to Israeli bullets or are deported while the rich Sheikhs keep quiet. Egypt has already joined the enemy camp. Others are tied to the apron-strings of their protector and benefactor.

Mr Baker has beaten a retreat. No longer does he visit the Middle East. He skirts past the region and would rather savour a hero's welcome in Albania. He has better things to do than strike his head against the Israeli intransigence.

Amazing how a tiny state of 3 million can defy with impunity, the mightiest nation on earth. The sole super-power dare not displease its protege (a protege whose strength and survival depends on the god father's dole). The mighty America may have conquered the world but surely it has sold its soul. I hope I am wrong as there may still be a change of heart and George Bush, with all his irregular heartbeats, may yet muster enough courage to live up to his great ideals of "justice and fair play" which, according to him, constitute the essential ingredients of his "New World Order." He may yet retrieve his pledge to make the United Nations an effective world organisation.

U.S. Policies Seen Discriminatory

New World Order Immoral

91AS1386A Karachi DAWN in English 2 Aug 91
pp 9, 16

[Article by Shameem Akhtar; "The New Immoral World Order?"]

[Text] It is no coincidence that President Bush chose to build his so-called new world order on the ruins of Iraqi cities, towns and villages where the piratical F-117s, B-2s, Tornados and warships had packed 80,000 tonnes of explosives, causing widespread death and destruction.

Though actual casualties are hard to find owing to the double censorship—one imposed by the invading U.S.-led forces to cover up their crimes and the other by Baghdad to save the morale of the nation—the number of the dead and wounded runs into a million. UN Secretary General's representative Ahtissari, who sent to the war-ravaged Iraq, had reported that the situation there was desperate: shortage of food, fuel and flour, total dislocation of telecommunications, road networks and bridges. The UNICEF and International Red Cross also reported malnutrition among the Iraqi population, especially children.

There was no electricity then but now it has been restored only in cities to benefit thirty percent of the

population. In spite of this, the United States and its camp followers neither lifted the embargo on trade nor did they unfreeze Iraq's \$5-billion assets in foreign banks. Iraq could not buy food, milk and medicines for its population. As a result, six thousand children have died during the current year and if the situation persists—and it most probably would, given the U.S. and Western opposition to the lifting of embargo on Iraq—another 170,000 children would die by the end of the year.

This report is corroborated by the findings of the UN mission for humanitarian relief in Iraq: the leader of the mission, Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, observed that each month that passes brings the Iraqi population closer to the brink of catastrophe. He pressed for the partial lifting of sanctions against Iraq and the unfreezing of its confiscated assets to meet its urgent needs. The UN humanitarian mission chief has recommended that Iraq should be allowed to export its oil in order to import one billion dollars worth of equipment over a period of four months to restore its oil industry. But the UN Sanctions Committee postponed the Iraqi request to sell oil to the tune of \$1.5 billion to pay for food and medicines. The world's seven industrially advanced countries have declared at London that sanctions would continue until Baghdad complies with the UN resolutions.

In fact Iraq has accepted all the UN resolutions and has submitted a detailed list of all the equipment, devices and locations of its nuclear facilities. There is, therefore, no reason why the embargo should remain in force: Kuwait has been evacuated and the disarmament of Iraq has begun. What is the justification for starving 18 million people to death? Security Council Resolution 660 imposed embargo on trade with Iraq because of its non-compliance with paragraph 2 of the aforesaid resolution that demanded the termination of the occupation of Kuwait and the restoration of the Emirate's sovereignty. Therefore, with the withdrawal of Iraq from the Emirate, the conditions calling for sanctions no longer exist. But the United States and its partners have been prolonging the embargo, sometimes on the pretext of providing a safe haven to the Kurdish minority and sometimes on the nuclear issue.

No such haven is provided for the residents of the Israeli-occupied Arab territories. The latest example of usurpation of the functions of the UN by the United States, a pattern that became evident during the Gulf War, is furnished by the richest seven countries adding a new proviso to Security Council Resolution 660: that sanctions will continue to operate "so long as Iraq remains in the position to intimidate, repress and attack its own people and neighbours." This is going beyond the sanctions resolution. Under the intoxication of "victory over Iraq," the G-7 [Group of Seven], at the instance of the United States, has called for embarking upon "preventive diplomacy", ignoring the principle of non-interference in domestic matters of other states on the ground of large-scale violation of human rights. This would mean an outright rejection of Article II of the

United Nations Charter that prohibits interference in matters lying essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a state. It also means that the big powers would go back to the law of the jungle as they would feel free to violate the sovereignty of other states. This is the shape of things to come.

The world has every reason to believe that the United States would never act with evenhandedness. For example, when the G-7 called for maintaining the embargo against Iraq without any legal or moral justification, it asked the Arab states to lift restrictions against business firms having Israeli connections. The United States has lifted sanctions against Pretoria although the white minority regime has not released several hundred political prisoners still held by it.

It may be mentioned here that in the past the United States and Britain always opposed the imposition of mandatory sanctions against Pretoria by the UN Security Council. The United States and the Western powers have been demanding from Tehran that it should use its influence with the Islamic militants of the Lebanon to free twelve western hostages but they are not prepared to use their influence with their clients, the Maronites, to set free the four Iranians captured by them during the summer of 1982.

The Americans also do not pay heed to Iranian President Rafsanjani's demand to use their influence with Israel to release some four hundred Lebanese Muslims detained by the Zionist state. In October the Arab Foreign Ministers unanimously demanded of the security Council to apply sanctions against Israel under Article 7 of the UN charter and ensure protection of Palestinians either by appointment of observers, deployment of an international force or placing the occupied territory under international supervision. All that the Security Council was able to do under mounting criticism by the Third World countries on the eve of the Gulf War was to pass a weak resolution asking the UN Secretary-General to send his envoy to the occupied West Bank and Gaza to find facts. Israel refused to admit the Secretary-General's envoy to the occupied territory and the permanent members of the Council did nothing. One may ask: was this resolution less sacred than the twelve resolutions passed against Iraq?

At times, certain western leaders waxed eloquent only to fool the Arabs: President Mitterrand of France, in a nationwide address on March 3, said that if the UN Security Council did not resolve the Arab-Israeli dispute it will be accused of following double standards. On another occasion he asked for the implementation of the UN resolution which envisages the creation of a Palestinian Arab state alongside Israel. In December M. Mitterrand was pursuing a soft line vis-a-vis Iraq, discouraging the West from launching an attack, because as he said then, though he favoured the liberation of Kuwait, he was opposed to the destruction of Iraq.

To prove that he meant what he said, his representative presented a resolution at the Security Council linking the Iraqi withdrawal with an Arab-Israeli settlement. The United States and Britain opposed the resolution and attacked Iraq. Instead of restraining the United States, France joined the invading force. At the outset France refused to put its forces under the U.S. command but later submitted to Washington. Before the outbreak of the war France had clearly stated that its military operations would not extend to Iraqi territory but its warplanes went deeper inside Iraq to bomb military, economic and industrial targets.

Again after the war, when the U.S.-inspired Kurdish rebellion was quelled by the remnants of the Iraqi army, the British, American and French troops occupied northern Kurdistan while Iraq and the UN had entered into an agreement for the deployment of the UN guards to ensure the safety of ethnic Kurds. This is yet another example of the United States and its allies bypassing the United Nations.

Nor has the planned dismemberment of Iraq come to an end. On July 20, the Big Five gave an ultimatum to Baghdad to pull out its forces from the marshes of the southern Iraq where the Shias live. President Bush has been calling for President Saddam's blood whom he denounces as dictator, tyrant and what not. Both during and after the war the American President warned the Iraqi people that so long as President Saddam remained in power, there would be no easing of the embargo.

The stand runs counter to the principles of international law, morality and the UN Charter. It is also against the express policy of the world body. UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar said in a French television interview on March 1, 1991: "As Secretary-General I cannot agree with measures that are aimed at overthrowing the government of a country which is a member of the United Nations. If the objective of pursuing sanctions is to topple the Iraqi regime, then I do not agree. The fall of Saddam Husayn is the business of the Iraqi population. It is not for the United Nations or for other countries to decide if Saddam Husayn will fall or will not fall."

Hosni Mubarak, a faithful ally of the United States, refused to be a party to the topple of a fellow Arab head of state leaving the fate of the Iraqi ruler to his people. The Egyptian leader also refused to join the United States, Britain and France in another aggression on Iraq—this time on its 100 industrial sites. The Big Five gave an ultimatum to Iraq to submit complete information about its nuclear programme till July 25 or face serious consequences, meaning a renewed military attack. The question is what authority do the Big Five have to threaten, intimidate and attack a UN member?

Enforcement measures against a state can be taken by the United Nations alone under Chapter VII of the Charter.

If the Big Five attack Iraq, they will be guilty of committing aggression. Why don't the Big Five give an ultimatum to Israel to withdraw from the West Bank, Gaza, Golan Heights and South Lebanon by the end of the year?

Why didn't the Big Five ask Israel to submit details of its nuclear facilities by July 25 or face the "consequences?" They would not do this to Israel. Nor would President Bush's arms control plan apply to Israel and some of its Middle Eastern allies. America will supply ten F-15s and Arrow anti-missile missiles technology to Israel to maintain its military superiority in the region now that Iraq has been knocked out.

The monarchies, the Emirates and the Sheikdoms of the Gulf would be supplied with \$18 billion worth of weapons discarded by NATO. Saudi Arabia has to pay \$64 billion to the U.S.-led coalition as war-related obligation, including \$13.5 billion to the United States, which is demanding the amount in cash. The Saudi Kingdom has borrowed \$4 billion from the World Bank and another \$2.5 billion from its commercial banks. It has piled up a budget deficit of \$18 billion.

The United States will maintain 30,000 troops in the region and by agreement with the Gulf States shift the headquarters of its Central Command from Florida to Bahrain. This will be part of the agile force envisaged by President Bush in his May 29 address to the graduates at the Air Force College, Colorado Springs. In the same breath the U.S. President called for arms control in the Middle East and development of new military technology by his great country.

The duplicity and contradictions inherent in the policies of the big powers came into the open in the mid-July London meeting of the G-7 when France opposed a ban on arms sales, although, a week before, the Big Five agreed at Paris to create a weapons-of-mass-destruction-free zone in the Middle East. Earlier, in March, President Mitterrand himself proposed arms control in the region. How can France police the non-proliferation regime when it has carried out five atomic test explosions in Murora Atoll during the current year and recently decorated its naval officer who was convicted by a New Zealand court for the murder of the crews of the Rainbow Warrior? Needless to say that the French officer had acted on the orders of his superior.

Egypt has insisted on the application of arms control to all the states in the region, including Israel. This is going to be the test case for the New World Order. As it is, the new dispensation is but the reincarnation of the expansionist doctrine of manifest destiny with a wider application and the assumption of the White Man's burden variously described as mandate or trusteeship systems. It seeks a diminution of the role of the UN since the latest U.S. peace plan allows only the presence of a silent UN observer at a regional conference on the Middle East. It further aims at disarming Iraq, Iran and Pakistan and their exclusion from the Gulf security system which will

be policed by the United States and its protege, Israel. The UN would be further reduced to the position of Washington's handmaid.

Disregard Third World

91AS1386B Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jul 91
pp 9, 11

[Article by M. B. Naqvi: "A Tale of Two Perspectives"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] After the failures of League of Nations and indeed of United Nations, given the destructive potentialities of war, it may be that enlightened opinion would finally force the leading western governments into ceding more of real power to the United Nations. EC's success is a testimony to what civilised opinion can achieve. As for the Third World lovers of national sovereignty, the scope for their defying the leading western powers, if the latter were to agree, for long is not too great.

In contrast with the thinking represented by Willy Brandt and Stockholm Initiative representative of the trend of thought among disinterested thinking persons everywhere who love both humanity and freedom—there are plans and schemes of those who speak in the name of military power and privileges that accrue from it [sentence as published]. There are a great many concrete suggestions, of course. One is required to choose from these. But the job is easy: The criterion for credibility among these is the quantum of power behind the proposer and that is easily seen. Those suggestions that may already have been adopted by the U.S. Administration in part or stand the best chance of being adopted in future are obviously more cognisable.

In this category fall the ideas adumbrated in an article jointly signed by Hans Bethe, Kurt Gottfried and Robert McNamara in New York Review of Books entitled The Nuclear Threat: a Proposal. Not that they are the official words. But they do seem to be instinct with the spirit and assumptions that colour the thinking and desires of Bush Administration. There are other ideas advanced by French President Francois Mitterrand and British Premier [as published] John Major. But these, despite distinctive points they make, remain variations on the theme of predicating the desired world peace and order on unchallengeable western military strength. They differ only on relatively minor details and aim at reserving a niche for second rank powers' sway in Europe, West Asia and elsewhere.

This other approach to world security problems is no less motivated by idealistic urges. In its case, while love of peace and idealistic motives are obvious enough, two characteristics stand out: Any desire for making the UN the fulcrum of peace keeping by making the surviving superpower subordinated to the Security Council's whip is conspicuous by its absence.

On the contrary, these three entrust the U.S. Administration with the chief peace-keeping task, being the only

real superpower with enough clout to be able to lead others in keeping peace by arranging regional power balances.

Secondly, their perception of threat is amazingly narrow, though it could be that they have deliberately chosen only the most glaring threat to mankind today: war in a world where nuclear and other mass destruction weapons (MDW) may be proliferating. But ignoring other older and emerging threats is itself telltale. These practical-minded people, however, see two main dangers now.

Tremendous amount of Soviet nuclear and other weapons can prise free of a tight and responsible Kremlin control and fall into the hands of either seceding republics or to be used in a possible civil war among various groups in a splitting Soviet Union or when a takeover of Kremlin by hardline, unreconstructed Communist takes place. Secondly, proliferation of MDW (Mass Destruction Weapons) in the Third World. The specific remedy suggested by them—a drastic reduction of strategic nuclear weapons from 50,000 to just 2,000 accompanied with a joint adoption by the United States and the USSR of the doctrine known as minimum deterrence—good in itself as it may be is basically irrelevant. For, everyone agrees with the aim and the question is about who enforces order and how. What is more germane is the several pointers regarding American policies, being suggested or already adopted.

The U.S. leaders still regard NATO, predominantly American and indeed western, military power as the key to maintenance of peace based on regional balances of power; hence the refusal to envisage a purely European defence structure. Although, men like McNamara are prepared to go a long way to reducing the flagrancy of double standards in the treatment of nations of varying power, they are not ready radically to eliminate them. And finally their practical sense apparently does not allow them to adopt a Brandt-like radical approach—a much greater reliance on international law, global securitisation and tackling newer challenges facing humanity under its flag or with its help—challenges that traditional practitioners of power game have ignored.

The mind McNamara and his colleagues have brought to bear on this world security theme, so far the most radical and peace promoting, is shown by its closing lines: "No government other than that of the United States is in a position to take the first steps in this direction, and no one but the President himself can effectively provide the leadership required. Continuing with the outdated policies now would come to be seen as a deep failure on the part of the United States even if the dangers that exist do not lead to tragedy. For the first time in four decades the opportunity has arisen to dramatically reduce the risk of nuclear war. It must be seized."

That is disappointing for those, certainly in the Third World, who look forward to an international system of peacekeeping and security in which all countries obeyed the rule of law. Doubtless there will be many Americans who would prefer a peaceful world with a UN-supervised security system, without demanding special privileges for their country. But few of them appear to be really prominent or influential.

Anyhow, the sombre reality is that even a man like McNamara is proposing a U.S.-led, indeed U.S.-dominated world, with two nuclear superpowers and three declared and unspecified number of undeclared or semi-nuclear powers that will remain so. The nuclear haves will enforce a permanent nuclear abstinence on the have-nots. This is unequal and incongruous. It will not work.

Were some leaders credibly to say that we are all marching towards universal nuclear disarmament through specified gradual steps—only during the initial ones they wanted to retain their NMDW [Nuclear Mass Destruction Weapons?] monopoly for practical reasons—it might be acceptable.

As it is, what seems to be on offer for the Third World is: we the Big Five retain our nuclear and other MDWs plus powerful conventional forces plus our special UN privileges plus or regional link-ups (including possibly accepting a few so-far undeclared members to the club) but you, the lesser fry, go on being good and virtuous—and poor.

Favor Allies on Nuclear Issue

91AS1386C Karachi DAWN in English 3 Aug 91 p 11

[Article by Gen. (Retd.) Khalid Mahmud Arif, former Vice-Chief of the Army Staff: "Myth of Nuclear Proliferation"]

[Text] The U.S. House of Representatives recently extended the application of the Pressler Law to include India in its ambit. The Lagomarsino amendment requires India to obtain a U.S. presidential certification that it does not possess "additional nuclear explosive devices" in 1992-93 to entitle it to qualify for the U.S. aid. This amendment was withdrawn before its presentation in the U.S. Senate. Thus it did not become a law.

The people of America are entitled to formulate their policies and enact laws to regulate their affairs as considered appropriate by them. Normally it is not the business of other countries to advise them on such issues. But when their acts start impinging on the sovereignty and interest of other nations, they assume the right to question the merit and justification of the seemingly unfair American legislation.

Notwithstanding its contents, any legislation with a single country or a single person application smells foul and is unworthy of the statute book of which it becomes a part. Such a perverse law neither serves the cause of

justice nor of democracy. The Pressler Law applicable only to Pakistan is one such classic example. Born out of malice and expediency it has tarnished the image of the United States.

By attempting to modify it, the U.S. legislature has conceded that the non-Biblical Pressler Amendment was discriminatory in nature. And yet the law makers and the U.S. administration had held it sacred for years. The aborted Lagomarsino amendment supposedly accepted the principle of a regional approach while dealing with the nuclear issue in the sub-continent. In real terms it was loaded in favour of India.

The Lagomarsino Amendment, a half-way measure, was a clever attempt at codifying the U.S. duplicity into a law. It protected the Indian nuclear arsenal acquired already through fair and four means and was to become operative only if she "acquires any additional nuclear devices." Indirectly it condoned the Indian nuclear proliferation acts done hitherto. This is logic American style in which expediency over-rides fairplay.

The American nuclear policy has long been based on an inconsistent approach dictated by the conflicting nature of her world-wise interests. It excels in contradictions and being a marriage of convenience occasionally produces unwanted children. Some examples illustrate the point.

Equipped with the Symington Amendment adopted in 1976, the United States prevailed on France in 1978 to renege from her international commitment to build a reprocessing plant in Pakistan. This act denied Pakistan the benefits of the nuclear technology. It also made a mockery of the oft-repeated French claim that she was the master of her own decisions.

A couple of years later America was at the receiving end. She desired to backtrack from her contract obligation to supply enriched uranium to India. India demanded the compliance of the freely negotiated contract deed. A cornered America compromised on her professed principles. India was provided the low grade enriched uranium from France in a triangular deal involving the United States, France and India. Once again expediency gained triumph over principles. The moral compulsions were conveniently consigned to some obscure backyard.

For reasons well known, Pakistan's nuclear programme does not find favour in America. A U.S.-led international campaign has been set in operation to deny nuclear-related technology and equipment to Pakistan. The phony films made, the sponsored books written and the periodic leaks in the media have consistently claimed that the country has long been only a "screw turn" away from making a nuclear device. Based on suspicion and unsubstantiated so-called intelligence reports her aid is stopped. She is maligned, accused and abused. The fact that Pakistan has not exploded a nuclear bomb despite western predictions is conveniently ignored. On the other hand, a different yardstick is used in respect of India which has already tested a nuclear device and has

demonstrated an intermediate range ballistic missile capability. India's IRBM capability makes sense only if she possesses a nuclear weapon. Despite such overwhelming evidence the United States has sold high technology dual-purpose super computers to India which will fill in some vital gaps in the Indian nuclear and missile programmes.

The acquisition of the nuclear technology by a Third World country is frowned at by the self-appointed nuclear monopolists. They let loose a sustained and a well-orchestrated campaign against the "unwelcome" intruders in their closed and coveted club. The countries attempting to break the man-made unfair nuclear barriers are criticised, be they India or Pakistan, North Korea or Iraq, and Argentina or Brazil.

The wrath is sugar-coated to express concern of saving the mankind from the catastrophe of a nuclear war. Implied in such apprehension is a wilfully created imaginary fear that the less-developed nations of the Third World may endanger world peace through some rash and miscalculated acts. Such an arrogance is condemnable. Strangely their fears and high ideals are rapidly put to rest when it comes to discussing Israel or South Africa. The sponsors of these countries blatantly, nay shamelessly, cover up the acts of their client states. They look the other way when they stockpile the nuclear weapons and conduct nuclear explosions.

The U.S. nuclear policy is less than evenhanded. In the guise of expressing concern for world peace it primarily adopts a self-serving approach. It is multi-faceted in nature, is based on a set of conflicting parameters and is implemented with variable degrees of pressure and vigour on case-to case basis. For example, at best it expects India to exercise self-restraint in the nuclear weapon field. If she declines to accept the unsolicited U.S. advice, Washington shows understanding of New Delhi's "compulsions." She is too willing to woo her by providing technology and assistance in an attempt to distance her from the Soviet Union. India has consistently used the Soviet card with dexterity and finesse to secure advantages from the different U.S. Administrations. For the U.S. policy-makers the nuclear proliferation concern suddenly assumes a secondary place. Their first priority is to seek India's friendship.

Iraq is a contrast. What has happened to that country's tiny and nascent nuclear programme need not be discussed here. Before the February, 1991 war, Iraq was depicted as a monster endangering regional and world peace. Her own stupidity invited U.S.-led and UN-approved allied retaliation. In the deluge that ensued Iraq was crushed. The remnants of her nuclear and missile capability are in the process of being destroyed.

Israel remains free to harness nuclear technology in all its manifestations. Despite CIA's confirmation in 1974 that Israel had produced nuclear weapons this country has continued to receive U.S. aid and hardware on a lavishly expanding scale. The U.S. law-makers have shown a

bipartisan support in not extending the U.S. nuclear laws to cover Israel. The U.S. Ambassador in Pakistan has announced publicly that Israel was an exception for America. That diplomatic bombshell deserves a Congressional medal. If America feels embarrassed to honour him for once being truthful let Pakistan confer on the Ambassador a suitable award. If Solarz could be decorated, why not Oakley?

The permanent members of the United Nations Security Council regard themselves as the holy cows. China is not a member of the unjust Non-Proliferation Treaty. In the context of this treaty the other four permanent members behave as if they are above the law. They have so far not implemented the provisions of the NPT [Non-Proliferation Treaty] which they were required to do. They expect the world at large to act no more than a spectator when they do not play their part of the game. Consequently, the nuclear philosophy flows out of the gun barrels of the nuclear-have states. They ordain that the horizontal spread of the nuclear weapons is dangerous for mankind. The nuclear-have-not states should therefore sign the NPT in their own interest, otherwise circumstances would be created for them to sign on the dotted line. They further feel that the non-nuclear states should not unnecessarily concern themselves with the issue of vertical proliferation of the nuclear weapons. Let America, the Soviet Union, Britain and the fresh entrant in this club, France, stockpile nuclear weapons to their hearts' content. It is a story of heads I win tails you lose.

Should the destiny of the world, the future of the mankind and the fate of all countries be left at the perennial mercy and goodwill of a handful of nations? If the choice is hard the issue is too important to ignore. The sovereignty of all countries is sacrosanct. The concept of some states being more sovereign than others smells of an intolerable logic. Any notion that the developing countries could be less prudent and should, therefore, not possess weapons of mass destruction belies history.

In the past while the weaker nations have caused numerous bushfires around the globe, the world peace has invariably been disturbed by the more powerful and ambitious nations when they found others vainly attempting to seek protection in idealism. Aggression is checked by credible deterrence not euphoria. The developed countries would do well to remember that Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini did not belong to the Third World.

If America is genuinely interested in a durable international non-proliferation regime it should redefine her nuclear policies objectively and realistically. Half measures like the Pressler and the aborted Lagomarsino Amendments add insult to the injury. The perpetuation of inequality would further complicate matters which are already complex. A vast Gulf separates a status quo law from a fair approach.

A world totally free of nuclear weapons is an ideal-noble but unachievable. In the annals of human history no weapon of destruction has ever been permanently and universally dismantled. The nuclear weapons have come to stay. They cannot be allowed to become the exclusive preserve of a tiny bunch of mighty nations who wish to keep them for their self-serving interests.

Pious intentions and artificial barriers cannot prevent their further growth—horizontal or vertical. Since the flow of knowledge cannot be stopped, the world must learn to live with these weapons. To do so it should frame rules and regulations which are applicable fairly and equitably to one and all. The concept of what I have is mine, what you possess is negotiable amounts to saying that ends justify the means. Hitler adopted such an approach. The world is aware of his fate.

The myth of the nuclear proliferation is loudly expounded by those countries which apprehend in its explosion a loss in their own power and authority. For reasons not difficult to understand they wish to retain their own political and technological supremacy in the world. The countries of the Third World which attempt to break the vested nuclear monopoly are painted black and ugly by the West and are subjected to unfair political pressures and economic squeezes to extract concessions from them. Power is the name of such a game. Those nations which may succumb to the pressure would bear the stigma and the burden of compromising their sovereignty. The countries which resist the overlordship of others may face difficulties but will lead a life of dignity and honour.

There is no need to be apologetic for any country on the issue of acquiring nuclear technology to meet her industrial, technical scientific and other requirements. The stoppage of the American aid is a blessing in disguise for Pakistan. While it will create economic difficulties for her in the immediate future, in the long run advantages will accrue. The American reliability as a friend and ally stands exposed. This aspect will not go unnoticed in the Third World countries.

The closure of the aid channel has opened a window of opportunity. It will give Pakistan a greater freedom of action and maneuverability in the diplomatic, technological and other fields. While Pakistan regrets the U.S. decision and feels hurt about the mode and manner in which it was taken, she should accept it gracefully. Her response should be firm, balanced and unacrimonious. Pakistan has lived without American aid before. She has a good opportunity to discard the external crutches gradually and learn to stand on her own feet.

'Pakistani Lobby' Needed

91AS1386D Lahore *THE NATION* in English 28 Jul 91
p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "A 'Pakistani Lobby' Is Taking Shape"]

[Text] A few days stay in the United States Capital to participate in the International Kashmir Conference

gave a distinct impression of two clear strands in Pakistan's interaction with the United States. Notwithstanding the semantic expression of warmth, more by the Pakistani side than by the American, in the aftermath of the Wasim Sajjad mission to Washington, the substance of the Islamabad-Washington relationship is characterised by fundamentally divergent outlooks on vital political issues that form the bilateral agenda. The Wasim Sajjad mission helped to reaffirm the two countries' respective bottomlines on such issues, with contradictions and inconsistencies now even more glaring in the U.S. approach towards Pakistan.

A more positive note in bilateral ties is the increasingly assertive, even activist role, that is being assumed by the approximately 300,000-500,000 Pakistanis living in the United States, forming a sizeable chunk of America's growing Muslim population that today stands at approximately 6 million. Well-established Pakistani professionals and businessmen, are taking up the cudgels on behalf of their mother country's interests through pressures on the administration, the Congress and the media. In effect, by organising themselves politically on specific Pakistan-related issues, the activist Pakistanis are contributing to the emergence of an embryonic Pakistani Lobby in the United States.

As far as Pakistan-American relations go, the nuclear issue continues to be, from the U.S. perspective, the principal irritant and despite the Wasim Sajjad mission, "the lines are clearly drawn and there is no change in our policy," as a State Department official put it. In fact, diplomatic sources in Washington confirmed that the brief exchange between Wasim Sajjad and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, which capped the Pakistani delegation's visit to Washington, was quite candid, with neither side pulling any punches in reiterating stated positions on the nuclear issue. Baker reportedly tried to entice the Pakistani delegation with financial allurements when he somewhat crudely stated that "there are millions of dollars in aid lying around and people all over the world are eyeing them like vultures: if we don't sort out this problem with you, the money will be allocated to others." The meeting ended with Baker bluntly asking Wasim Sajjad; "I can understand your difficulties now but tell me, what is your time frame for rolling back your nuclear programme," to which Wasim Sajjad replied: "Frankly that's impossible."

State Department officials admitted that there was "relief," and a certain amount of satisfaction as well, at the new announcing retirement of Chief of Army Staff, General Mirza Aslam Beg, which coincided with the Wasim Sajjad mission to Washington. It was apparently after this announcement that, as an official put it, "the mood changed in Washington and doors were opened" for visiting Pakistanis. The nuclear issue apart, the United States and Pakistan do not see eye to eye on Kashmir as well, with American officialdom more eager to blame Pakistan for "fomenting terrorism through

supporting Kashmiri militants," rather than expressing outrage at India's continuing human rights violations and denials of the right of self-determination to the Kashmiris under the United Nations resolutions. The onus of the American approach to the bilateral friction between Pakistan and India over Kashmir is thus more at pointing the accusing finger at Pakistan, and not adopting an even-handed approach or one that would view the issue separate from merely the "destabilisation of India." On Afghanistan, there has been some shift in the American position with, as one official put it, "98 percent of the administration now is in agreement on the need for negative symmetry" (i.e., cutting off covert U.S. military assistance to the Afghan Mujahideen which now stands at \$250 million annually). The only hitch, according to the Americans, is that the Soviets are now insistent that they would be more than willing to match an American aid cut-off to the Mujahideen with a similar cessation of assistance to the Najibullah regime in Kabul provided "there are credible assurances that Saudi Arabia and Pakistan will also stop all such assistance to the Mujahideen."

In this context, some glaring inconsistencies and contradictions are apparent in the American attitude towards Pakistan. Some examples:

- While Pakistan is being penalised on the nuclear programme with an aid cut, a victim of U.S. hostility, concurrently the Pakistan Defence attache in Washington is invited to take part in the Gulf War Victory Parade in New York on June 8, which he does marching in full uniform as member of the American-led coalition that devastated Iraq;
- The United States takes the lead at the Group of Seven Summit in London when it supports the political communique on Yugoslavia which says, "it is for the people of Yugoslavia themselves to decide upon their future," adding its voice "for a halt to violence, the deactivation and return of military forces to the barracks," while denying a similar right to the people of Jammu and Kashmir and treating this, as the Indians also do, as essentially a problem caused by "Pakistani-fomented terrorism";
- The United Nations role is touted as central to the liberation of Kuwait but the UN role deliberately curtailed on the Palestine issue under Israeli pressure and totally ignored in the case of Kashmir, where resolutions supporting self-determination are still on the agenda;
- The so-called "extension" of the Pressler Amendment to India, under which President Bush would have to annually certify that India is not producing "additional nuclear materials" implies that India's previous sins, like that of Israel, have been accepted and it is only future sins that it is being advised not to commit, although, concurrently, in the case of Pakistan, Islamabad is being asked to "roll back" the nuclear programme.

Given this context, what did the Wasim Sajjad mission achieve in real terms: a last-minute meeting with James

Baker (minus a photo opportunity), a well-worded statement of platitudes from the State Department (in 1973, after Mr. Bhutto's visit to Washington, President Nixon had issued a statement that "relations with Pakistan are a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy" which the Government of Pakistan had conveniently changed into "relations with Pakistan are the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy" as if substituting "a" with "the" would really make that much of a difference given the free flow of rhetoric from Washington!). The one positive outcome of the visit was the considerable goodwill that it generated among the Pakistani community, with both Wasim Sajjad and Akram Zaki coming across as that rare breed in Pakistan's stuffy officialdom who are at ease talking to their countrymen, unlike most of their colleagues who find interacting with non-VIP Pakistanis a pain and a problem.

For their part, the Pakistani community reciprocated by arranging a meeting of Wasim Sajjad with the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives through their own initiative, and not via the Embassy of Pakistan. On June 7, a White House briefing for a select group of Pakistanis was also arranged and next month there will be the inauguration of the "M.A. Jinnah Road" in Chicago, the first such boulevard to be named after the Quaid-i-Azam. Most of these Pakistanis are self-starters, operating on their own without any help from the government or the Embassy of Pakistan. One prominent Pakistani, for instance, contributed over \$100,000 last year to U.S. political campaigns. And the interest of the Pakistani community extends to other areas as well, demonstrated by the fact that in Washington there are three locally run weekend television channels for the Pakistani community, two in Urdu and one in Punjabi. The Pakistani community is coming of age in the United States and hopefully, the government will not lag behind in supporting their worthy endeavours. For starters, those representing Pakistan at diplomatic missions in the United States would need to be trained to change their traditional elitist style of functioning, so that they are able to work through a populist and non-bureaucratic approach whose pattern has already been well-established by the new head of the Foreign Office.

THE MUSLIM Escalates Criticism of 'New World Order'

U.S. Will Dominate Completely

91AS1397A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
12 Aug 91 pp 6, 8

[Article by Col Ghulam Sarwar: "The US-Dominated World Order"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Of late, the call for a New World Order [NWO] has caught the world attention. It has implications for the world far beyond the confines of the American borders. In fact, the United States has made it clear that the NWO would be one of its main foreign policy objectives in years to come. Coming to light during the

Gulf War, the NWO gained currency when President George Bush pronounced its birth on September 11, 1990.

The NWO is generally viewed with trepidation by countries of the Third World. Also, it has brought Pakistan and the Ummah to a new cross-roads. In fact, its implications are likely to affect the entire world's strategic order. In the minds of many, NWO conjures up an image of the United States becoming the world's policeman, strutting about on the globe with pretensions of keeping peace and order in this otherwise troubled world. It is seen pursuing more than simple national interests without an effective check or restraint. It implies the dominating role of the United States in a unipolar world.

What exactly is the New World Order? The end of the cold war changed the structure of world politics. The Gulf war further confirmed it. Before the Gulf war, many observers, especially those in Asia, confidently spoke of the US "decline" and the simultaneous "rise" of Japan and United Europe as the new superpowers, the pillars of the new multipolar world.

But the Gulf war, more than anything else, invalidated that scenario. The world is now confronting an entirely new situation. This is a situation in which no single challenger is likely to emerge in order to wrestle the burden of world leadership from the United States.

As regards the future role of the United States, there exist two competing impulses that have, over the years, shaped and explained US foreign policy orientation. Of these, the first is an unavowed impulse of American real politik. Simply put, this means that governments run the world and must be dealt with whatever their character. It is called the realist approach. The main concern of the realist approach is power, with states as the actors in world politics, whether they rule democratically or not.

Armed with this thinking, one can easily understand why, in the past, the United States, the so-called champion of democracy, insisted upon keeping good relations with China, despite the latter's harsh repression of domestic dissent, which culminated in the massacre at Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989. It also explains why the United States failed to impose serious reprisals on the Soviet Union for its brutal actions against the Baltic independence movements.

The second impulse is that of Wilsonian reformism. So named after President Woodrow Wilson, the 28th President of the United States, the idealist approach looks upon peace as the product of contented people finding democratic fulfilment. This impulse regards an organisation of states, such [as] the United States, as a valid embodiment of popular and democratic parliament of peoples.

This approach explains the US stance towards the creation of the League of Nations. It is also the impulse

whose language Mr Bush has embraced while proclaiming the call for a NWO on September 11, 1990. Salient features of the NWO, as envisaged by Mr Bush, reflect that the New World Order will emerge, free from the threat of terror; it will bring about an era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, will prosper and live in harmony; they will act in concert, and ensure a new dawn of freedom. In this context, the avowed mission of the United States will establish enduring peace in the strife-torn world.

These are all noble ideals, but in actual practice, however, most US foreign policies are a mixture of realism and idealism. The realist specifies the means for achieving goals and the idealist justifies and wins support for his noble intentions.

The NWO can be viewed in this light. On the philosophical plane, it calls for global reforms but in actual practice, it seems to act in response to the dictates of realpolitik. Nowhere has this been more clearly manifested than during the Gulf war. The outcome of the Gulf war, one notices is that the United States despite its relative decline in economic terms, still possesses the ability to make quick decisions and move large military convoys of men and materials to distant parts of the globe in the shortest possible time.

This rises in the minds of many in Asia, whether the United States will continue to act in cooperation with others in dealing with future crisis in coalitions and with ultimate blessings of the UN, or will it act independently without trying to ensure support of others. Hopefully, in future, the United States will exercise its military power sparingly and in cooperation with others. Also, far from restricting to isolationist foreign policy, due to financial constraints, the United States will continue to play a leading role in the region in years to come. Its politics will be dominated primarily by the Zionists. There is a general feeling that the design for the New World Order was made in Tel Aviv and its structure fabricated in Washington. The Arab World seems to be its first target. Then comes Pakistan and other Muslim countries like Iran and Libya. The Zionist rule has a pervasive sway over the Islamic World.

Viewing the US role from another angle, we see that concurrently it is planning to destabilise the People's Republic of China. US planners feel that if China is destabilised, it would facilitate the American objectives of projecting India as a "regional superpower." Thus, India would be able to have its sway on South Asian countries, including Pakistan. India's military might and its growing naval power coupled with its nuclear capabilities, is a matter of great concern to India's neighbours, especially Pakistan.

The United States is also exercising great pressure on China for withholding supplies of advanced weapons to Third World countries. It is also desperately trying to stop it from the transfer of nuclear technology. In this regard, a lot of noise was made against China for

transferring missile technology to Pakistan. It was alleged that Beijing had supplied Pakistan with M-II missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. A similar campaign was launched against China for supplying Libyan Jamahiriya with M-9 missiles, Syria with Scud-C missiles and Algeria with a nuclear reactor capable of producing plutonium for nuclear weapons.

Mr Shahid Aziz, a well-known political analyst and military strategist, reveals that on the economic front, the Zionist lobby in US Congress proposes "punitive moves" against China. In this context, talks are aired on taking practical steps to withdraw China's preferential trade status, known as the most favoured nation, (MFN). Internally, the evidence of CIA and MOSSAD's involvement in the troubled Muslim region of Western China has been brought to light. It seems that the Zionist lobby has drawn a plan to use the Chinese minorities to destabilise China. Efforts are also being made to spoil its relations with Pakistan.

Strategically, it seems that Washington plans to surround China with hostile regimes as part of its policy of "double containment" and isolation. In this regard, a deliberate move is being made to disturb the strategic equation in the Asia-Pacific region. The US connection is being used to slow down economic cooperation between Tokyo and Beijing. To pose a serious threat to China's military power, Washington has started tilting heavily towards New Delhi. The Bush administration has helped India obtain 1,000-million-dollar loan from the IMF as oil facility against the original expectation of only 400 million dollars. Incidentally, India is the first developing country to get such a loan, while a stand-by credit of 777 million dollars has also [been] negotiated in a record time.

Mr Shahid Aziz further reveals that the US administration is discussing behind the scene military and economic deal with India. This includes supply of military training planes in addition to the 202-G model engines for the strategic aircraft being built in India.

In the backdrop of these heavy odds, it is incumbent upon Pakistan's policy makers to reorientate their strategies and take bold steps for massive improvement of economic and military relations with China in general and the Muslim World in particular, in all fields to the extent of economic and military integration. This seems to be the only option left for Pakistan to survive under the US-dominated New World Order. Our policy makers must rise to the occasion and evolve pragmatic policies, keeping in view our national hopes and aspirations.

Implemented by Threats, Force

91AS1397B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by Shahid Aziz: "American Power-Game on Balance"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] One solid aspect of the New World Order is the emergence of the United States as an undisputed military power with a growing tendency of resorting to the use of force in international politics. Such policy has been more pronounced with the historic collapse of the Soviet Union as a main player in global affairs. Thus the United States exploited this opportunity to impose its supremacy on the globe and militarily intervened in Granada, Panama and the Persian Gulf.

Not satisfied with the destruction of Iraq and the occupation of the oil sources in the Middle East, the United States has recently used the concept of power in northern Iraq while it is constantly threatening to use force against a defeated and destroyed Iraq to obtain more political, economic and military concessions not only from Iraq but also from its allies particularly the oil-rich Gulf Sheikdoms.

Through sheer force and arrogance of power, the United States is imposing on the oil-rich Arab countries a "regional security system" which warrants permanent stationing of US forces in the region, storing advanced weapons in the Gulf states, building more bases and even shifting the CENTCOM [Central Command] headquarters to UAE [United Arab Emirates] and Bahrain. Obviously, the small and weak states of the region are not in a position to question the wisdom of the American military plans to oppose them; for the US military presence in the region has become a fait accompli and most importantly, due to total dependence of these regimes on the United States to survive especially after having committed the historic error of permitting the United States to destroy a fellow Arab country and occupy their own states.

Power is also being used to influence the behaviour of other states of the region particularly those which oppose the US hegemony. Thus the Algerians were forced to give up their nuclear programme when Washington used its surrogate state in the region, Israel, to threaten a pre-emptive attack on its nuclear facilities. Then Libyans have to pay regular pilgrimage to Egypt and seek its help to stop the United States and Israel from attacking Libya in lieu of giving up the RABTA plant and "behaving" by showing keen interest in normalising the relations with Washington. Similarly the Yemen, the PLO, Sudan, Tunisia and even Syria had to toe the American line due to behind-the-scenes use of military threat against them.

In our region, the United States is excessively using threats against Pakistan, China and North Korea. To "tame" Pakistan, Washington has not only stopped its military and economic aid to Islamabad but has also taken some important steps to make India a leading military power in South Asia under the pretext that India is the world's most populous democracy and has much more influence in regions far beyond the South Asian region. It is an open secret that India would be ultimately used to knock down Pakistan's nuclear facilities in lieu of "security assistance," transfer of high-technology and even much more economic and military assistance.

But the United States should be well aware that Pakistan is not Iraq and using power against Islamabad could lead to a grave miscalculation. For power is relative and reciprocal relationship and weakening Pakistan militarily would destabilise the entire region. A weaker Pakistan will tempt India to dominate the region to penetrate through the vacuum that would be created. And in no circumstances, would China permit such a scenario simply because such an eventuality would expose the Chinese national security to a grave danger.

Repeating the power game used against Iraq in Pakistan does not seem possible. It can be used on one issue but not with respect to others. Even in case of Iraq, the United States could not have used power that successfully had the Arab states particularly the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] countries refused to cooperate or to finance the destruction of Iraq. In our case, India would be tempted to dismember Pakistan but New Delhi fully knows the huge price it will have to pay in terms of human losses and wide-ranging destruction that would play havoc with its economy. If war erupts, one would not really need nuclear weapons because the advanced missiles system in the two countries are sufficient to level their towns on the ground.

Internally, the United States might also face some unforeseen domestic problems and events which might unsettle its power game. The pressure groups and public opinion would certainly oppose American involvement militarily. This will hinder the actual exercise of power though the United States possesses the capacity to act to further its interests in the global politics.

Economically, the United States faces yet another challenge in using the power game. Despite its victory in the Gulf, the United States is facing an acute economic crisis at home. It is estimated that the deficit in its 1991 budget will be around 318 billion dollars. This could reach 500 billion dollars when the saving and loan bailout and the cost of the Persian Gulf war are added.

In fact, the United States has not been able to solve its economic decline since the early eighties. During the tenure of the Reagan administration "supply-side" economic theories were tried in an attempt to cut taxes and boost military spending while simultaneously balancing the budget. The upshot was a series of record spending deficits above 200 billion dollars a year and a trebling of the debt load from one trillion dollars in 1981 to three trillion dollars in the second quarter of 1991. Much of the money to pay for the excess of spending over income were to be borrowed from abroad especially from Japan and Germany. Consequently, foreigners were called upon to provide the shortfall of funding. In return they gained ownership of substantial amount of US real estate, securities and corporations. Now a significant amount of US output must go to foreigners in the form of profits, rent, interest and dividends.

Recession is now unprecedented in the United States. This has been partially sparked by excessive public and

commercial borrowing that is leading gradually but surely to the collapse of the US banking system. According to Congress reports the cost of bailing out failed saving and covering other recession costs will jump to 103 billion dollars for the fiscal year 1991 and 98 billion dollars for fiscal year 1992. This would definitely lead to one and only one solution which is a drastic reduction of military budget and spending. Hence the US power game would be badly hindered.

Despite the power game of the United States and the fact of its being the most powerful state that has ever existed, it was unable to prevail over small states like Cuba and North Vietnam. It was again neutralised into seeming ineffectiveness in the Iranian hostages situation.

On the other hand, Tito of Yugoslavia and Nasser of Egypt exerted more influence than the limited capabilities of their respective states would justify. Therefore, Pakistan and other Third World countries should not be demoralised and should resist the US power game and intimidation for despite its military might, it is economically in a state of inevitable decline.

Muslims Must Bow to Zionists

91AS1397C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
12 Aug 91 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Predictably, the retiring United States ambassador to Pakistan, Mr Robert Oakley, has once again engaged himself in his professional task of promoting policies which he knows the people of Pakistan look upon with grave unease. The point where he lets the cat out of the bag is his attempt to seduce Pakistan by quoting Egypt's example—of taking the leap at US bidding and receiving the possession of the Sinai desert strip as a prize. This is a very deceptive game. The correct name for it is "Camp David." Quite a few aspects of Mr Oakley's advocacy are examples of trying to prescribe panaceas while actually dispensing nothing better than low potency anaesthesia. The results of Egypt's fall into the Camp David trap, that is, going into negotiations with blind faith in the impartiality and good intentions of the United States, are by now too manifestly unattractive to persuade anyone to walk into the fool's paradise with eyes open.

Egypt and the Arabs are total losers. Egypt's recovery of the tiny desert spot called Sinai is at best a bad joke. This must be the most costly piece of desert in the whole of the Arab world and in the whole of Arab history, too. By the Camp David deal, what Egypt got in the first place was getting thrown out of the Arab family as nothing better than plague. Egypt remained a despised entity for years and the opportunist leader who got Egypt into that trap had to pay for the mistake with his life. That was what going into negotiations blindfolded meant for a start. What followed, by foreseeable stages, brought the entire Arab world to the state of fecklessness it is in today. And it was precisely for this purpose Camp David

was conceived and rammed down the throat of Egypt, then the most sustainable of Arabs. Why are we the target of all Western venom? The Pressler Amendment and the vendetta against BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] are links of the same chain. We are under attack because we are a Muslim entity with the spine still intact. That must be broken. Nobody is afraid of our nuclear prowess. Nobody knows better than the United States that our nuclear accomplishments menace nobody. That's the excuse to bring us down on our knees, fall in the queue of the vanquished Arabs and bow to the Zionist entity.

Has the world ever witnessed the cynical manner in which poisoned rubbish is being heaped upon Pakistan and some outstanding Pakistani attainments as now churned up by the US media and carbon-copied in most of the West? This is not political stuff; this is not at all a case of political disagreement between two countries or between points of legitimately held principles. This is a conspiracy against Pakistan because this country is considered—and so far quite correctly—as one of the few Muslim units in the world who have refused to be bought and sold as dumb, driven cattle. Sign on the dotted line and ask for what you want. Doesn't the primadonna of Camp David get billions and also bet billions written off?

The simple question now is: are we willing to give away the jewel of our sovereignty for the trinket offered in terms of resumed loans at killing interest rates? Our nuclear programme is not a weapon of attack. It is now our honour. Let us hope our governments would continue to say it is not for sale.

Punishing Those Who Oppose

91AS1397D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
13 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by Shireen Mazari: "Legitimising the New International Order"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] With the end of the Gulf war, the real American global design began unfolding more clearly as the United States began the process of legitimising the new distribution of military and political power in the international system. After all, at any given time, the international order is a given in the system—reflecting the distribution of power. What becomes critical then is, first, how far that order is acceptable to the international community and, second, how far the dominant State/States mould international structures to strengthen and preserve this order. In the event of a transformation of the power distribution within the system, a whole new process of legitimisation of an associated value-system begins.

For the American, this exercise in legitimising a global order first began at the end of the Second World War. The distribution of power reflected a bipolar politico-military international order, and for the United States

this meant creating institutions which reflected its value-system and thereby strengthened its position in the bipolar system. Hence we had the creation of military alliances, and support for democracy and self-determination took a back seat to support for anti-communist regimes. Nevertheless, the former were, of course, utilised fully for propagandist impact. Hence, we had NATO, SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization], CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] and so on, along with US interventionism in the politics of a number of developing States across the globe.

At the same time, the United States sought to strengthen its almost unilateral control of the global economy by setting up a whole international trade and financial system reflecting its own value-system—a particular type of capitalist world market economy where critical sectors like agriculture were to be immunised from the ravages of unbridled free competition and market forces. Hence we had a particular type of trade regime exemplified by the GATT, as well as the IMF and the IBRD [World Bank].

In order to keep would-be challengers in place, the United States allowed for flexibility in the system and also conceded to a limited sharing of formal power within the format of the UN. It is to the credit of the United States that it managed to gain legitimacy for its post-45 Order so that States as diverse as Pakistan and the Philippines and antagonists like Turkey and Greece all internalised the anti-communist and capitalist value-systems.

While numerous developments within the system since the mid-fifties affected the international order in varied way—whether it was the rise of the PRC or the '73 oil crisis—the basic distribution of politico-military power in the system remained unaltered, and shifts in the distribution of economic power (Japan and the EEC) were managed within the existing structures to cause as little qualitative alteration of the system as possible. Yet, certain developments could be seen as posing a long-term threat to the existing structures of the international system—perhaps the most prominent being the Iranian revolution and an international political resurgence of Islam, and the growing economic power of Japan and the EEC.

However, the whole distribution of power was finally and irrevocably undermined with developments in Eastern Europe and within the Soviet Union. It is in this state of flux that the United States has seen its chance to assert its politico-military strength and alter the post-45 international order to a unipolar distribution of politico-military power. In order to do this, it has first shown its power through the use of force—direct and indirect.

In Eastern Europe it has used its power indirectly by abetting demands for Western-style democracy and market economies; in Latin America it has aided right-wing movements; in Africa it has abetted in the undermining of radical nationalist struggles by seeming to support limited political concessions by racist/fascist

regimes; in the Gulf it finally found the opportunity to use direct military force. The demise of the Soviet Union as a power competitor not only allowed the United States to have a free military hand in the Gulf, it led a number of States like Syria to ally with what they obviously saw as the new power in the region.

In return, the United States allowed its military effort to gain a veneer of internationalism by utilising the UN and allowing its more powerful allies to be party to the military adventure. Not all takers were, of course, rewarded as Pakistan soon found out, but those considered relevant were—such as Syria which gained a free hand in Lebanon. In the aftermath of this successful use of military power, the United States as in 1945, is busy seeking, first, to legitimise its new international order and, second, to strengthen the structures of this Order.

It is this framework that one must see recent global US policy. Having already established its politico-military primacy in Europe, it has drawn major military concessions from the Soviet leadership without finding it necessary to make equally strong economic commitments. In order to control the other industrialised nations dealings with the Soviets, it has created the illusion of acting “in consultation” with its allies.

Ideologically, it finds it cannot totally obscure the development of peoples’ struggles for self-determination and freedom—given the relevance they had in the undermining of Soviet power and in the legitimisation of American military action in the Gulf. However, it is now actively pursuing policies calculated to minimise the force of these struggles. For example, while it butchered the Iraqi populace during the war, it did not seek the destruction of Saddam Husayn. Instead, the United States seems to realise that by allowing Saddam to survive, they may achieve their aims in the Gulf more easily.

After all, had Saddam been destroyed, there would be little reason for keeping a Western military presence in the region, or for continuing to intervene in the affairs of the Iraqi State. Equally critical, the United States feels the need to keep a close check on Iran—still the torch-bearer for revolutionary Islam and one of the few remaining Muslim States that have not been beguiled by the new American global politics. Nor could the alliance with Arab States be guaranteed in the aftermath of the fall of Saddam Husayn.

All these uncertainties would have created problems for the US-Zionist blueprint for the region. Now, of course, Arab States of the Gulf, along with Syria are continuing to show a willingness and pliability to play the US-Zionist game. It is now clear that there will be a mass recognition of Israel by the Arab world—with a few solitary exceptions. To make it more palatable, the US-Zionist alliance will ostensibly give limited “political rights” to chosen groups of Palestinians in an effort to make the PLO and other radical Palestinian groups redundant in terms of international support.

Nor does the American global design stop at dissipating one core issue of the Muslim world. It also aims to undermine Turkey’s international support by creating a Kurd issue as a result of its resettlement of Iraqi Kurds along the Turkish border. Having gained global sympathy for their role against Saddam and their subsequent persecution by the Iraqi regime, the Kurds will no doubt undermine Turkish support internationally—especially in Europe where acceptance of Turkey into the EEC is an uncomfortable idea. In addition, the United States probably hopes to put enough pressure on Turkey to compromise on Cyprus and give up its principled stand on this issue.

By gaining recognition of Israel from the Arab world and redrawing the map of the Middle East, the new international order will be given a permanence, and by weakening Turkey the United States will not only be able to appease its European allies but will be sending a message to the rest of the Muslim world that Muslim causes will not gain support regardless of their righteousness—as is obvious by the lack of international support for the Kashmiris struggle for self-determination.

Finally, the United States has expressed a desire to pursue nonproliferation in relation to nuclear and chemical weapons as it cuts its own nuclear arsenal in agreement with the Soviets. The continuing presence of the Saddam regime allows it the pretext to use force to punish those States that have so far confronted the United States on the nuclear issue. Dealing first with Iraq, through the cover of the UN, it seems apparent that it may well use the same tactics against countries like Pakistan.

All in all, it is apparent that the legitimisation of the new international order by the United States needs to be reviewed very carefully by developing States, especially the Muslim world. While the new distribution of politico-military power is a reality to be dealt with, there is no reason to allow it to be legitimised through the creation of structures that strengthen it and lend it permanence.

U.S. Termed ‘Imperialists,’ ‘Executioners’

91AS1397E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
10 Aug 91 pp 6, 8

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: “Thanking the Executioners”; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Should we heap congratulations on our tormentors for their excesses and conspiracies against us? This was precisely what the respected leader of the opposition Ms Benazir Bhutto did while hosting a dinner in honour of the outgoing American Ambassador Robert Oakley at her Islamabad residence before leaving for Karachi on Monday last. Going by the press reports, she said in her short speech while bidding adieu to Ambassador Oakley that she was thankful to the United States for the economic and military assistance it had extended to Pakistan over a long period.

Being an astute politician she should have known what price Pakistan had paid for the economic and military aid it received from the American. American policies were never aimed at making Pakistan a strong country economically. All that the United States had been interested [in] was to see Pakistan as an economic appendage of Washington. In essence the American aid never helped Pakistan to become an economically strong country. It could never have been in the global strategic and economic interest of the United States to develop Pakistan economically so strong as to pose a threat to her interests in this part of the world. The fact of the matter is that the Harvard group of American Advisors who were based in Pakistan in the late fifties and sixties, had sowed seeds of dissension in the two wings of Pakistan. Ultimately, the country was torn apart. The American economic aid was never meant to develop Pakistan's basic industries. Look at the whole pattern of the US aid over the decades and you come to the sad conclusion that it touched peripheral aspects of the country's economy. The US assistance did not materially change Pakistan's economy.

It would not be wrong to say that the US aid made Pakistan's economy hostage to the United States strategic and economic interests. Pakistan has actually fallen victim to America's economic imperialism. A recent report carried in THE MUSLIM says that Pakistan's annual debt repayments to Washington have mounted to 352 million dollars while interest alone amounts now to more than 100 million dollars every year. This is the staggering price that Pakistan is paying to the United States for its aid which has created a debt problem of serious dimensions for the poor masses of this country. The United States has exacted a high price for its loans which it has euphemistically termed 'aid'. The country has been paying back for this aid through its nose.

Then it must not be forgotten that the United States had given loans to Pakistan at the height of the cold war and then following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Was it in Pakistan's interest that the United States handed out loans to Pakistan during the cold war with the Soviet Union? Certainly not. It was purely in the Western strategic interest that the United States had given crumbs to Pakistan to withstand the Soviet might and let it be a war theatre. Going along with the United States and its Western allies, Pakistan had committed a blunder of a grave nature. By following an even-handed and pragmatic policy, Pakistan could have secured its economic and defence interests instead of throwing its lot with the Americans and becoming a pawn in its hands. Pakistan had incurred the wrath of the Soviet Union when it allowed its soil to be used for espionage activities. The U-2 incident illustrates it.

By becoming dove-tailed into the United States' strategic interests, Pakistan has caused irreparable damage to its important national interest, that is, Kashmir. The policy of going the whole hog with the Americans from 50s up to the mid-sixties earned for Pakistan the hostility of the Soviet Union, forcing it to take a pro-India stand on this

vital issue. Despite Pakistan's full support to America, that country never thought of extending to Pakistan the support to free Kashmir from the Indian strangle-hold like it did in the case of Kuwait.

After the end of the cold war, the US stand on the issue of Kashmir has undergone a sea change. Now in the prevailing geo-political scenario, the American interests are best served if Kashmir remains in Indian occupation or is independent. For Pakistan such a situation is fraught with serious consequences. The Americans in the present situation are not at all mindful of Pakistan's interests.

Ms Benazir Bhutto has thought it fit to thank the United States for its military aid. The US military aid had always been conditional as was amply demonstrated during Pakistan's war with India. The Americans had clearly told Pakistan that the military hardware given by the United States to Pakistan was for the specific purpose of defence against the Soviet Union. The Americans had failed to come to the aid of Pakistan in 1971 when the Indians had attacked Pakistan. In those days the Americans used to say that the defence of Pakistan against aggression was the corner-stone of US policy. The American fleet which was reported to be heading towards Pakistan never reached there.

Though the United States had no agreement with India, that country had been recipient of sophisticated defence equipment from the United States. Pakistan can never dream of getting super computers from the United States. But India got them.

Benazir Bhutto must also know better than others about the extent of pressure that the Americans have been bringing on various governments in Pakistan to protect their strategic interests. Was it not during her father's time that the American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, had threatened to make him (Bhutto) a horrible example if the Pakistan government did not stop from going ahead with its plan to achieve nuclear technology? Over the years, the United States has been actively lobbying and even fighting against Pakistan's peaceful nuclear programme. What message does the former Prime Minister want to send to the United States through its outgoing Ambassador by saying that she was a nuclear non-proliferationist herself? Leaving aside the debate over proliferation or non-proliferation, the one question that required to be given top importance is the right of every country to exercise its sovereignty. The United States or for that matter no other country has a right to interfere in the exercise of the sovereignty of individual countries including nuclear sovereignty. Going by logic, nuclear weapons should be prohibited everywhere including the United States and the USSR and not only in the small countries.

Why should the Third World countries be stopped from acquiring nuclear technology if they desire it for their economic and social betterment?

Is it right for the leader of the Opposition who could one day be the next Prime Minister of Pakistan to hobnob with the Americans who through their New World Order plan are vying to dominate the Third World countries? The astute political leaders should bear in mind the fallout of their actions. The United States displayed barbarism of Hitlerite magnitude during the Gulf war, killing thousands of Iraqi civilians and denying the survivors of the catastrophe the basic needs like food and medicines and then the United States has the audacity to talk of human rights. But our own leaders are committing political harakari by appearing to be going along with the US interests.

Thanking the United States today is like thanking Hitler for what he did to humanity. We may as well say "Thank you, executioners."

BCCI Closure 'Warning to the Third World'

*91AS1397F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
7 Aug 91 p 7*

[Article by Sheni Humayun: "BCCI Closure: A Warning to the Third World"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The seizure of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International [BCCI] should not come as a surprise. It is not only timely but should serve as a warning shot to the dynamic and ambitious Third World countries, especially Muslim, personalities who want to equal or surpass their Western counterparts in any field of activity. They must remain an underdog. And subservient to the First World, otherwise.... Such are the ground rules of the New World Order. It is time that we understand this brutal reality.

The alacrity and indecent haste with which the Bank of England acted on Friday, the 12th July, is understandable. The concerted action taken by banking regulators in Britain, Luxembourg, the United States, Switzerland, Spain, France and Cayman Islands is unprecedented in banking history. But this had to be done before the leaders of the seven richest nations met in London. The thorn that was pricking the financial bastions of the Western world had to be removed once and for all. The Tower of London which has been a scene of so many beheadings in British history, is the perfect setting for the G-7 [Group of Seven] luncheon to gloat over Mr Major's major achievement of the decade—crucifixion of BCCI, a Third World financial institution that had rocked the very foundations of the Western finance houses. Amen!

BCCI was founded 19 years ago, in 1972, by Mr Agha Hasan Abedi, a Pakistani banker with a vision and dynamism. Its headquarter at London was established in the same building that was the seat of the British East India Company, the notorious business establishment that had paved the way for British rule over the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, by treacherously overthrowing the Muslim Mughal kingdom.

Although the Western media is trumpeting charges of BCCI's illicit connections with the Arab shareholders, with such names being thrown is that of G.R. Pharon; forgetting the fact that BCCI was founded in a partnership with the Bank of America, with policy and operating control of resting with Mr Agha Hasan Abedi. Later on the Bank of America withdrew from the partnership, mainly because of BCCI's overshadowing it.

BCCI, in a short span, established its influence in Europe, the United States and the Third World countries. It has 350 branches worldwide with connections in about 70 countries. It was a no mean feat by a person of Third World origin. Financial wizards of the First World were awestruck.

Mr Agha Hasan Abedi had decided to come to grips with the Western financial world, that had so far bled the Third World economies white (or red in financial jargon), on their own home turf and by adopting their own rules of the game. This was really too much to be swallowed. King Faisal and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had also paid the price for drumming the West in the political arena.

Mr Abedi had become a legend, a folklore hero; for the modesty and a humanitarian approach to life. He was the benefactor of innumerable families, students and patients. He was not only a financial genius, he had other plans as well. He was creating a brains trust, a thinktank of intellectuals from the Third World countries. He was well above caste, creed and colour prejudices. His dream was that the South should compete with the North. But dreams are not allowed to come true. Martin Luther King, the Negro leader, lost his life for he had a dream in a white world.

Mr Abedi was sought after by Presidents, Sheikhs, industrialists and those who had money, for financial advice. People listed in the international WHO'S WHO accosted him, at airports, where he was in transit, to solicit his opinion on their investment portfolios.

He bailed out, financially troubled Bert Lance, ex-Director of Budget of the United States and a close associate of former American President Jimmy Carter, by arranging purchase of the National Bank of Georgia's shares by Arab investors. BCCI provided banking expertise and turned the Georgia bank into a strong, viable financial institution. In 1981, BCCI took control of First American Bank in Washington. BCCI took control of Independence Bank of Encino, California and Centrust Savings and Loans of Miami. This is not a final list.

This was the period when the West was worried about the riches of Middle East oil barons and desperately wanted them to invest in the United States and Europe. All and sundry were on sale. One had to pay the price they were asking. Mr Abedi brought the investments and arranged expertise so that his investors were not losers. Mr Abedi had the Midas touch. His advice-oriented investments always yielded good profits.

The Western media has gone into a frenzy and is concocting all sorts of allegations against BCCI and its mentor. Even the Central Intelligence Agency of America, known for its undercover and illicit dealing and nurturing the present incumbent of the White House, is being linked with BCCI. The founding of BCCI is being termed as a conspiracy "to promote Arab interests in the United States presumably in hopes of influencing US foreign policy in the Middle East," forgetting that there was a time when the West itself was ready to dance at the crooking of the little finger of the oil-rich Arab Sheikhs. Mr Haig, the then Secretary of State, was sacrificed at the altar of Arab wishes. And Mr Shultz was brought in, because he was an "in man" in the Middle East due [to] his business connections with the Arabs.

Mr Abedi had his weaknesses: He trusted everybody and he never developed a line of succession. Everybody looked towards him. It was a one-man operation—Mr Abedi's. Unfortunately, his second-in-commands were people of low integrity, were ready to do anything for remaining in Mr Abedi's good books. They were mediocre people, with no loyalty to their master, fighting with each other for their survival at all costs. Coming from nowhere, today they are multi-multi-millionaires; even ready to cooperate with the enemy—Bank of England.

Fate has, however, been kind to Agha Saheb. It is a blessing in disguise that in 1988 he suffered from two consecutive heart attacks, underwent a heart transplant and returned from London to Pakistan to rest and recuperate. His control over BCCI finished about three years ago.

The writing on the wall was clear when BCCI was implicated in the drug-laundering case in Tampa, Florida, last year. It was not difficult to understand as to what the authors of the 'New World' had decided to do with BCCI.

The United States troops had invaded Panama and her President Noriega, a CIA operative and close confidant of Mr Bush to was brought to America to face charges of involvement in drug dealings [sentence as published]. There were allegations of linkage between BCCI and Noriega and consequently, with Abedi.

Had Mr Abedi been in good health and in effective control of BCCI now, who knows, they would have made him another Noriega. The damage Mr Agha Hasan Abedi has done to the Western financial system, in understanding its intricacies and mysterious doings is really unpardonable from their point of view. How dare a Third World citizen, single-handedly challenge the Western leadership by getting into their system. BCCI had grown like a cancer threatening the centuries-old deep-rooted foundations of Western mastery over the Third World countries, thus destroying their monopoly and their rich loot of underdeveloped nations.

Undeclared War Being Waged

91AS1397G Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
11 Aug 91 p 7

[Article by Zahid Ahmad Khan: "The Undeclared War Against Pakistan"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] After the demise of communism in the USSR and its East European satellite states, the United States has embarked upon an unprecedented spree of adventurism to control the entire world with its macho display. Emboldened by the military defeat of Iraq, a sinister effort is underway to give the same treatment to those States, particularly the Muslim ones, which refuse to knuckle under the high and the mighty. Nobody knows exactly which the next Muslim State would be to feel the heat from the United States. But indications are there, suggesting that Pakistan may be the next country at the receiving end.

Some of the very important leaders of Pakistan alluded to this possibility during the Gulf war. Our COAS [Chief of Army Staff] General Mirza Aslam Beg, even though heading the army of one of the allied countries, could not help himself from giving vent to his genuine apprehensions about real intentions of the United States vis-a-vis the Middle East.

In fact, he was the only important military man in the Muslim allied countries, who came out very boldly against the real face of the Western alliance spearheaded by the United States. Very few people were willing to take that warning seriously. Some politicians contrarily took it as yet another sign of dichotomy between the army and the civil government over the Gulf policy.

Now the veracity of that warning has become clear. Pakistan's military and economic aid has been stopped. It is the turn of Pakistan to bear the brunt of the yet another offensive to allow the 'new world order' to see the light of the day.

Pakistan is the only country of the region after Iraq, which is in a position to stand on its feet, much to the dismay of the naked imperialism of the United States. As such, it is the only impediment in the way of Pax-Americana in South Asia, in different capacities. There has been an increasing amount of propensity on the part of Pakistan to act independently on at least those matters of national importance where the stakes are too high. Pakistan and the United States no longer see eye to eye on the Afghan problem. And in the Gulf War, our participation was in fact only technical. Of all the Muslim countries which rallied under the United States to expel Iraq forces from Kuwait, it was (and still is) Pakistan which remained opposed to the modus operandi of the entire operation that saw the destruction of Iraqi military might. To cap it all, Pakistan's principled stand on its independent nuclear programme is further cleaving it apart from the United States. We are, therefore, no longer the dependable allies of the United States.

Although, India too has been traditionally following an independent line of action but, since its anti-Islam and anti-imperialist policies commensurate with the over-all American perceptions in South Asia, its desire to stand all by itself has never been that painful to the United States as it is, when an Islamic Pakistan does the same. Indian control over the South Asian region will be a first step towards realisation of the ideals of 'Pax Americana' in South Asia. After all, the 'new world order' does not require the United States to have its military presence in every corner of the world. Wherever necessary, proxies with strong anti-Islam or anti-socialist credentials could be a useful substitute. However, in South Asia and West Asia, the 'new world order' is in the main against the rising tide of resurgent Islam. In fact, the entire Western world has pitted itself against the world of Islam.

It is basically the Islamic character of Pakistan which has made it the most detestable object in the eyes of the United States. Besides, the Islamic character of Pakistan is nowhere more resilient and operative than in its armed forces. Readers should recall the uncomplimentary statements of one of the former US ambassadors to Pakistan, in which he minces no words in making out incommensurable, the penchant adherence of our armed forces to the faith of Islam, with the changing world. However, when the Israeli nation shows its unflinching faith in Judaism, this secularist policy of the United States goes hands off. The reprehensible terms of fundamentalist is only reserved for the true Muslims.

The security of Pakistan, and indeed of the Muslim countries of the region depends on the strength of their armed forces, as has been amply demonstrated by the recent occupation of Kuwait by Iraq. The United States tried to weaken our armed forces in 1965, and later in 1971 by stanching the inflow of all kinds of arms supplies to Pakistan. But now the situation is totally different. The previous martial law despite all its tyrannical practices, succeeded in making our armed forces much stronger in arms and morale. And now, with our various successes in indigenous production of different arms and ammunition, we have shown the desire and the capability to stand on our own.

The current pother by the United States over the Chinese missiles sales to Pakistan is a sufficient pointer to our policy makers who may still have a soft corner for the United States. It is authentically reported that during and after the recently concluded Gulf war, the top level American officials offered Pakistan their latest equipment being used in the Gulf war, but with one condition: that Pakistan in future should refrain from pursuing any independent nuclear programme. The answer was an emphatic no by Pakistan. United States of America will not allow any Muslim country to pose any kind of danger to its international interests that also includes the safety of Israel. Pakistan is being throttled from every angle. The closure of BCCI, a Muslim bank which has helped the sagging economy of Pakistan time and again, should open our eyes now.

Pakistan is the eastern rampart of Islamic West Asia. A weak Pakistan is in the long term interests of the United States of America, for by raising the real or putative dangers to the security of West Asia, emanating from South Asia, the United States can spread its deadly tentacles all over Muslim West Asia, as it has been doing this with great finesse. Another motive in making Pakistan weak, is to forestall any forging of unity amongst the Muslim countries of West Asia and South Asia. No Muslim country except Pakistan has the potential to provide not only moral but military support also to the concept of Islamic Ummah. Saudi Arabia can only furnish moral and financial foundations to any such plans. The western world fears militant Islam only. When the Muslim world refers to Pakistan as the citadel of Islam, it is not merely out of some misplaced enthusiasm on their part.

No one knows how many more casualties the Islamic world will have to suffer before this sneaky 'new world order' becomes a clear cut reality for the United States of America. But if the US Government continues to deal out such heavy-handed treatment to its foes and friends alike, then the doom of the new world order is very much in sight. It is high time that our dilapidated nation should take serious notice of these developments, otherwise it may be too late for not only Pakistan but also for the entire Ummah to retrace their steps. It is also the bounden duty of the Muslim world that they should come out of their present sloth and lethargy and help finance those Islamic countries who have the brawn and the brain to become self-sufficient against all outside interference.

Muslim Unity Against Westerners Urged

91AS1017D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 4 May 91 p 3

[Text] It is becoming clear now that the Western world has started an organized conspiracy against the Muslim world. They have united to paralyze Muslims in the area of politics, economics, and defense, and then to rule it at will. All this is being done according to a well thought-out plan. This coalition against the Muslim world is led by the United States of America, which considers itself the one and only superpower of the world. The United States has the full support of Great Britain and France in this area. The defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan has awakened the Muslims in Soviet-occupied Turkey [Azarbaijan Republic] and Eastern Europe, and their campaign for Islam has surprised Western powers. They see the Muslim world as a challenge now. Therefore, with the cooperation of the Jews, and under the leadership of the United States of America, this dangerous conspiracy against the Islamic world has been hatched. The goal of this conspiracy is to make Israel in the Middle East and India in southeast Asia the most powerful nations. This is a cause for concern in the Muslim world. Qazi Hussein Ahmed, leader of Jamaat-i Islami, has also expressed concern about this development, and has advised the Muslim world to crush this conspiracy by working together. He was addressing the Jamaat-i Islami at the

Sindh conference. He said that the Christian world had challenged the Islamic world by trying to stop the expansion of Islam. The United States is determined to install Israel and India as the powerful nations in their respective regions. The United States is conspiring at every level to achieve this goal. The situation demands that we fight the enemies of Islam united. The leader of Jamaat-i Islami has told the truth. There should be no doubt about it. A few days ago, Yasser Arafat, president of Palestine and leader of the PLO, said in an address at the International Islamic Conference in Khartoum that indeed there were such dangers.

Interference in Iraq's internal affairs at every step after the Gulf war by the United States has unmasked the allies and their goals. Hundreds of thousands of allied soldiers armed with ultramodern and destructive arms are present in Saudi Arabia and southern Iraq. After the Iraqi army left Kuwait and the UN peace force was installed on the border between the two countries, allied forces should have left the area. However, these armed forces are still there. In the name of protecting the Kurds, they are trying to take over northern Iraq. Iraqi soldiers are asked to leave various areas on the pretext of establishing refugee camps. The Iraqi Government is sending objection after objection; however, the United Nations has played into the hands of the United States of America and is working against all the resolutions that it had passed. Meanwhile, President Bush is still being stubborn and is issuing insulting statements and threats. Who does President Bush think he is?

The United States of America has impressed the whole world with its military power and other resources. The Islamic rulers are also quiet over the U.S. aggression in order to protect their own interests. They are afraid to raise a voice against the United States of America. However, the people in the Islamic world are becoming outraged against the United States. Their anger could take the form of a volcano and erupt at any time. This could drown President Bush's dream of becoming a world ruler. President Bush should not ignore the hate, anger, and sorrow expressed by the Muslim people from Morocco to Indonesia against the United States of America and its allies. He should not consider his success and victory as permanent. President Bush should be aware that the path he has taken is not only dangerous for peace in the world, but for the United States itself. The Muslim world has started to see him as an enemy of Islam. There is also the impression that the Christian governments of the West have united under the leadership of America against Muslims. A result of this could be that the Muslim world will also unite and organize itself to fight its enemy. The whole world could be involved in this religious war, because of President Bush's aggressive steps, wrong policy, and prejudice. It appears that the friendly relations between Muslims and the Christians of the Western world that were prevalent for some decades will not remain for long, and the responsibility will fall upon President Bush and his Western allies. We cannot expect this from the rulers of

Islamic countries; therefore, the people in the Muslim countries should remain united and dutiful as they did during the Gulf war.

Increased Cooperation With Iran, China Urged

91AS1155B Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 Jun 91 p 3

[Article by Dr. Rahimul Haq: "The Political Situation in South Asia"]

[Text] In this modern and civilized world, nations are working toward international brotherhood and understanding. The times of Napoleon, Hitler, and Mussolini are gone. The allied efforts of various nations against Saddam Hussein's aggression proves the fact that the world will not allow any dictator to achieve his goals.

The United States is trying to establish peace in the Middle East under its new world order. Friendly relations are developing among the Soviet Union, China, and Japan. Various provinces within the Soviet Union are progressing toward independence and autonomy. Many of the countries in Africa and South America have rid themselves of royal and military dictatorships. The countries in Western Europe are trying to establish European national brotherhood. Countries in Eastern Europe are becoming democratic.

Against this world background, this region of south Asia is the most populated, is facing the most serious problems, is poverty-stricken, is the least educated, and is suffering from great hunger and poverty. The total population of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh is over one billion, which is one-fifth of the total world population. However, with the problems of the population explosion and having the lowest per capita income in the world, this region is the center of major crises. Relations between India and Pakistan have been strained from day one. They have fought three wars between them. Relations between India and China have never been normal after the war between these two countries. Relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan have not been good since Pakistan was involved in the Afghanistan war. The Afghanistan problem has not been solved yet.

The Kashmir issue is a chronic problem between India and Pakistan. It has strained relations between the two. India is not willing to hold talks over the Kashmir issue, even though it has participated in SARAK Pact and has signed the Simla Agreement. In spite of the political need and political pressures, the governments of India and Pakistan do not budge an inch from their respective positions. In India, East Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Jammu and Kashmir, and several other states, are campaigning for independence. India does not want to lose any state, especially Kashmir. If one state in India separates itself from the union, then a series of secessions will begin.

The Soviet Union, China, and India are three military powers in Asia. China is the largest country in the world, in terms of population. India is number two in this respect. The Soviet Union is the second most powerful

nation in the world. Pakistan has the position of a buffer state among them. India and the Soviet Union have cooperated from the very beginning in the Asian security plan. Pakistan, because of being an ally of the United States, has also protected U.S. interests in this region. Pakistan helped the Afghan Mujahiddin during the Afghanistan war, and was a partner of the U.S. policy toward Afghanistan.

After the Geneva Pact and the return of the Soviet armed forces from Afghanistan, the United States and the Soviet Union did not have much of an interest in Afghanistan. The United States does not need Pakistan's help now. The United States is settled in the Middle East with its armed forces with local approval.

Pakistan is a very small nation when compared to the Soviet Union, China, and India. Its nuclear program is nothing compared to what these countries have. Still, the United States has demanded of Pakistan that it suspend its atomic program. The United States and its Jewish lobby are trying their best to make sure no Islamic country becomes an atomic power. A lot of propaganda was carried out in the context of an "Islamic bomb." All the attacks against Iraq and efforts to destroy its military installations were also part of this effort. They wanted to totally eliminate Iraq's atomic, chemical, and military power. Now that they are finished with Iraq, Pakistan is the next Islamic country against which they are putting the whole pressure to end its peaceful atomic program. They want Pakistan to spend its life as a dependent of the United States. It is obvious that this kind of arrangement is unacceptable to Pakistan or its proud citizens. Pakistan's government will never accept such a condition.

Pakistan has two options. One is to compromise its military independence and depend on other nations. The other is to become free from the political and economic clutches of the United States and other nations.

Mian Nawaz Sharif's government has chosen the second option. The path to independence and self-reliance is very difficult and requires patience. However, we should remember that Germany and Japan had fought against the United States and its allies during World War II, and after being totally destroyed, emerged as prosperous nations in the world. Turkey had defeated Great Britain during World War I. Iran confronted a superpower like the United States only recently. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said during his speech at the National Defense College that south Asia should be cleaned of nuclear weapons, and he proposed a conference of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, India, and Pakistan to sign a long-term agreement for peace and order in this region. He has also announced that talks about limiting the military build up will also be held during this five-nation conference. The eight-point program that the prime minister of Pakistan has proposed to rid south Asia of atomic weapons is the top priority. He has said that Pakistan and India should jointly announce that

they do not have atomic weapons. Both nations should agree to have their nuclear installments open for inspection.

Both nations should sign an agreement for following nuclear safeguards. India and Pakistan should jointly sign an agreement after which both nations should stop making atomic weapons. Both nations should accept international safeguards about nuclear installations and should sign the agreement on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. A meeting under the auspices of the United Nations should be called. We should include other nations with nuclear capabilities to sign an agreement not to blast nuclear bombs. Stopping the use of nuclear weapons in south Asia should also be discussed in these meetings.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's proposals are very good, and nations in the world, particularly the United States, Great Britain, and China, have made positive comments about it. China has accepted the Pakistani proposal about nuclear safeguards. However, India has rejected this proposal and accused Pakistan of making nuclear weapons. It accused Pakistan of making the proposal just to reduce the international pressure on it. India said that it was a political ploy designed just to divert attention to India.

Political circles around the world felt that the Indian spokesmen had used very strong language. China had announced that a conference to make south Asia clean of nuclear weapons should be called. According to the press sources in the United States and Great Britain, there are many positive aspects to the proposal presented by Pakistan's prime minister. A high-level delegation under the leadership of Senate Chairman Wasim Sajjad and General Akram Zaki, Secretary General in the Foreign Ministry, has left for the United States. The delegation will meet with the vice president of the United States and other officials and discuss our nuclear program and regional safety. It will explain Pakistan's position to the U.S. Government. India's attitude about Kashmir and regional security has never been positive or hopeful. The recent announcements and political developments in India clearly indicate that extremists have taken power in India. They want "Akhand Bharat" [undivided India]. This government does not want to miss any opportunity to harm its neighboring countries, including Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and other countries.

Against this background, it would be better for Pakistan's government to improve its relations with China, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, and Arab countries. It should also become self-dependent and strengthen its political and military powers.

Pakistan should continue its atomic program and develop it further, and also strengthen itself in economic, social, and military areas.

India is suffering from internal strife and does not have the ability to pay attention to its external affairs. It does not have any political personality which can unite its

hundreds of millions of people. Pakistan has better political leadership, and its four states are fully united. Thus, Pakistan has become a strong Islamic country and can play a very important role in the security of south Asia.

Relations With Soviet Union Viewed

*91AS1090B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
22 May 91 p 3*

[Editorial: Pakistan-Soviet Union Relations: Future Demands"]

[Text] Mohammed Afzal Khila, chief justice of the Supreme Court, said in his speech at the 43rd anniversary of Pakistan-Soviet Union relations that it was important to bury the past and begin sincere efforts to develop friendly relations between the two countries in the future. The Soviet Union is a neighbor of Pakistan and a superpower, but there never were appropriate conditions for the kind of friendship that is natural between two neighbors. Pakistan and the Soviet Union had the first opportunity to form closer ties when the Soviet Union invited Liaqat Ali Khan for a visit. However, historically it has been questioned whether this invitation was actually extended. Sayyed Amjid Ali, veteran diplomat and politician, claims that no such invitation was received. At any rate, Pakistan moved into the American camp gradually and joined the campaign against the Soviet Union at international levels as a member of SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and CENTO [Central Treaty Organization]. When the Soviet Union downed the U-2 which had taken off from the U.S. airbase at Madbir near Peshawar during Ayub Khan's government, it pushed Pakistan-Soviet Union even farther apart. India, on the other hand, established friendship with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union acted as a peace-maker after the 1975 war between India and Pakistan and had them sign the Tashkent Agreement. The Soviet Union was an open ally of Pakistan until the 1971 war and India dismembered Pakistan with the help of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union patted the backs of the Kabul's royal family within the Afghanistan borders and helped Pakistan's enemies in the Pashtoonistan issue.

After the Russian aggression in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and Pakistan got entangled in a "cold war." Pakistan became a victim of instability, terrorism, and instigation as a result of it and ended up bearing the burden of three million Afghan refugees. All this has become part of history and the Soviet Union is not what it used to be after being ousted from Afghanistan and Eastern Europe and because of its internal problems. The geographical situation of Pakistan, however, has not changed. Neighborliness and proximity demand that both countries establish friendly relations. If Pakistan can establish friendly relations with another Communist country, China should have no problem then with establishing relations with the Soviet Union as long as the latter promises to keep friendship despite the ideological

differences and respects Pakistan's independence, freedom, and importance. Pakistan is thankful to China for respecting this rule and helping it attain self-sufficiency in the defense area. China is extending its cooperation in nuclear development to Pakistan now when even France and Japan have withdrawn under the U.S. pressure and hinted to Pakistan not to hope for any aid in the future as well. The fact is that the United States has attained a new position now and the Gulf war has shown that the United States is the only superpower in the world. The problem for Pakistan is that the Jewish and Hindu lobbies oppose its efforts to establish friendly relations with the United States. This lobby has brought notoriety to Pakistan for its "Islamic bomb" not only in the United States but in the whole world. Unfortunately, Pakistan has no lobby group within the United States while India has a very effective lobby group. There are groups of Pakistanis just like Indians in the United States, but they have formed groups and organizations for personal reasons but not to support Pakistan. Whenever there is a PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government in Pakistan, its supporters become active abroad. Pakistanis abroad are now trying to get closer to Mian Nawaz Sharif and his government.

The attitude of Indian citizens abroad is different. They limit their energies to supporting the Indian lobby. There never were any specific groups for supporting Chandra Shekhar, V.P. Singh, or Rajiv Gandhi. Pakistan faces problems with regard to establishing closer ties with the United States because of this situation and the United States has stopped military and economic aid to Pakistan using our nuclear program as a pretext. Pakistan has to find viable alternatives in this situation. In this context, we should try to establish friendship with the Soviet Union with the understanding that it will respect our ideology, our independence, our freedom, and our sphere of influence. The Soviet Union should take the initiative in resolving the Afghanistan issue. It has recalled its armed forces, and now it should withdraw its support of the puppet government and let the Afghan people decide on their political future. After establishing peace in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and Pakistan can cooperate in the wider area of trade and business. It would be more convenient for the Soviet Union to import [from Pakistan] basic commodities for its Middle Asian and Islamic provinces. This trade between the two countries with respect for mutual ideologies can pave the way for a stable friendship. Nevertheless, Pakistan should try to warm up to the Soviet Union to obtain its friendship.

USSR Seen 'Conspiring Against Muslims'

*91AS1215A Islamabad THE MUSLIM (Supplement)
in English 12 Jul 91 pp 2*

[Article by Shahid Aziz: "Soviet's Historic Betrayal of Iraq and the Muslim World"]

[Text] With the end of the Gulf war, more and more details are being unfolded on the double-game played by

the Soviet Union during the crisis and how it vastly contributed to the destruction of the military and economic infrastructure of Iraq. Publicly, the Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev opposed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and co-operated with the United States in passing all UN Security Council resolutions including the use of force against Iraq, while wrong signals were given to the Iraqi president Saddam Hussain on the Soviet Stance from the crisis. Gorbachev's objective was to improve his tarnished image in the West and among oil-rich Arab countries. Thus, by merely opposing Iraq he normalised his relations with Israel, was able to resume diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia, strengthened the detente with the U.S., developed more working ties with Western Europe, and more importantly he managed to obtain aid in billions of dollars from the U.S., Europe and oil-rich countries particularly Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

All indications suggest that Mikhail Gorbachev was executing his part of a sound deception plan created by the United States to drag Iraq into Kuwait and to make him stay there in order to find the justification to destroy Iraq's nuclear installation and to occupy the oilfields in the Middle East under the UN umbrella and with Arab money and blessing!

It is for this reason that Gorbachev selected as his envoy to Saddam Hussain Primakov, a known Jew and a "trusted friend of the U.S. Zionist lobby." And instead of using pressure on the Iraqi president to make him withdraw quickly from Kuwait, Primakov used to praise the courage and resolve of Saddam "to offer immense sacrifices in order to achieve his goals."

Many people even now do not believe the official version of the USSR that Moscow never knew of Iraq's intentions of invading Kuwait. For instance a Russian daily RAPOTCHIA TRIBUNA published on 15 October 1990 that the KGB anticipated the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and sent to the Kremlin a detailed report two weeks before the invasion. The pertinent question in this regard is, then, why did the Soviet Union keep quiet in the first if it really opposed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and what was the nature of "exchange of views between Gorbachev and Bush" before the crisis?

While Gorbachev was publicly declaring his opposition to the Iraqi invasion of Iraq, thousands of his military advisors and experts from KGB and military intelligence GRU were encouraging Iraq to hold on in Kuwait. In fact the Soviet Union, immediately after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, sent military experts to test and acquire the advanced technology of the U.S.-made Hawk surface-to-air missiles that Iraq seized from the Kuwait armed forces. Similarly, the Soviet experts took active part in dismantling advanced radar system of the type Tiger and transferred it to Iraq.

Now, numerous confidential reports suggest that the USSR was pushing Iraq toward a military confrontation with the U.S.-led allied forces and ultimately for an imminent defeat:

i. The British intelligence confirmed that the Soviet Union supplied Iraq with advanced and accurate SS-12 missiles capable of carrying nuclear and chemical warheads just before the Gulf crisis. The report said that the Soviets put conditions that Iraq could not use such missiles without explicit approval of the Soviet military experts in Iraq.

ii. Many Soviet warships violated the UN Security Council embargo on Iraq and supplied with weapons, ammunition and spare-parts for Iraqi warplanes particularly the MIGs. Obviously, this is not compatible with the declared stance of Gorbachev that he tried his level best to persuade Saddam Hussain to withdraw from Kuwait and find a peaceful settlement of the issue.

iii. While Mikhail Gorbachev was supplying Iraq with weapons and active military experts, Western intelligence reports disclosed that he provided the Pentagon with every detail of the Soviet weapons supplied to Iraq. Clearly, Gorbachev never cared if the entire military might of Iraq was destroyed as far as he enjoyed American confidence and promises of billions of dollars to revive his ailing economy.

iv. The Soviet generals were blowing Iraq's military capabilities out of proportions to the extent that they anticipated a Vietnam-like war. They spoke of the eight-year long experience the Iraqi army acquired during the Iran-Iraq war, the Soviet sophisticated weapons, the will of Iraqis to fight...etc. all of which used to encourage a military confrontation in the Gulf and were exactly the U.S. objective behind "manufacturing" the crisis.

v. Most of the Soviet media played the same game of deception and exaggerated the military might of Iraq. For instance the official Soviet daily IZVESTIA wrote a detailed article on the Iraqi biological and chemical weapons and how could they play havoc with the U.S.-led coalition forces. It also divulged that the Iraqi army possessed 2,000-4,000 tons of chemical weapons stored in 10 underground stores and bunkers. Thus, a false sense of security was given to the Iraqis instead of being warned of the death, destruction and devastation awaiting them if they remained in Kuwait.

vi. The Soviets gave the Iraqi wrong signals on a rift between Gorbachev and both his army and KGB and claimed that ultimately the radicals within the Soviet Union would use their influence to ensure that Iraq should be forcefully supported.

vii. The Soviets used to wrongly compare the resistance of Baghdad with that of Leningrad during the World War II and used to tell the Iraqis that ultimately they would win over the U.S.-led allies with all kinds of advanced weapons and high-technology equipments at their disposal.

History will unveil more and more secrets of the USSR-U.S. collusion to destroy Iraq and enslave the Muslim nations one after another within a well thought plan between the superpowers.

The Muslims should be aware of the grand conspiracy of the present leadership of the USSR against their interests. It is now an open secret that Gorbachev is implementing the designs of international Zionism by permitting the immigration of three million Soviet Jews to occupied Palestine thereby giving every justification for the Zionist entity to annex the occupied Arab territories and expand on the expense of the neighbouring Muslim Arab states. Recently the Soviet Union has been offered Israel an advanced anti-missiles system. Thus Gorbachev is implying the negation of the strategic importance of the Soviet missiles that was acquired by the Arab countries, spending billions of dollars in the process. Even the most advanced Soviet warplane of the type Mig-31 was offered for sale to the Zionist entity with the Soviet boast that only three Mig-31 can defend the security of Israel. This implies that if Israel purchases 30 Mig-31, it can occupy the rest of neighbouring Arab countries. Such is, then, the new mentality of the former champion of struggle in the Third World countries.

Regional Affairs

Talks With India Termed 'Useless'

91AS0889D Karachi AMN in Urdu 9 Apr p 2

[Editorial: "India-Pakistan Negotiations Proved Useless"]

[Text] Secretaries for foreign affairs of both India and Pakistan announced in New Delhi that the next session of their talks will be held in Islamabad in late August or early September. They have also agreed to discuss the Siachen issue at the proper time. They also announced that India-Pakistan talks about Wooler Barrage and drug smuggling will be held in July. Talks about border markings will also be held in August this year. At the end of the session, the secretaries of both nations accused each other of interference in Kashmir and Punjab [affairs] and causing unrest in those regions. Mr. Sharyar Khan, the Pakistani Government's secretary for foreign affairs, declared that he had proof of India's involvement in incidents in Sindh. The Indian secretary for foreign affairs accused Pakistan of helping terrorists to cause unrest in India. The Pakistani secretary for foreign affairs expressed concern over India's refusal to allow representatives of human rights organizations and journalists to visit the occupied Kashmir and inspect the human rights situation and accusations of molestation of women there. Emphasis was given to the fact that it was important to resolve the Kashmir issue if we want to normalize the relations between the two countries. He rejected the Indian Government's accusations of interference in the occupied Kashmir and Punjab [territories] in very strong words. India has admitted to violating human rights in occupied Kashmir.

The meeting and talks between the foreign secretaries of the two countries continued for four days. The general opinion is that these four-day talks in New Delhi were fruitless and both foreign secretaries could neither make

any progress in improving relations between the two nations nor could they agree to stop accusing each other. The fact remains, and this has been admitted by the Pakistani foreign secretary himself, that the Kashmir issue is the main reason why the two countries cannot agree on normalizing relations. This issue is the cause of friction between the two countries and three major wars and dozens of border skirmishes have taken place because of this very issue. It would be prudent to focus on this very important issue during the Indian-Pakistani talks and find a peaceful solution to resolve it. Other minor issues can be set aside for future talks. We may not resolve the Kashmir issue fully, but we could end or reduce Indian atrocities and barbaric deeds that are being committed on the people of Kashmir by Indian soldiers. However, this did not happen.

There is no doubt about India's interference in Sindh which makes the situation worse there. India has a pretty bad record in this area. We also know the role of Indian agents in what was once East Pakistan. Keeping in mind its former role, we can verify the accusations about India sending its agents to Sindh to aggravate the situation there. Chowdhury Shujait Hussein, the federal foreign minister, has also warned our law enforcement agencies that terrorists from India and Israel entered our country and were trying to start trouble.

The question is, why do our law enforcement agencies not arrest those terrorist after information about their entry has been received? Why is proof of the presence and details of the activities of the Indian terrorists in Pakistan not presented?

We believe that the leaders of both countries should realize the seriousness of the present situation and stop the politics of accusations and counteraccusations and accept the facts. They should sit down together and try to find respectable common grounds to solve mutual issues. Otherwise, both nations will waste their resources in the politics of confrontation and the dream of progress, development, and prosperity will never be realized.

Revolution in Kashmir Foreseen, Abetted

91AS1017E Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 5 May 91 p 4

[Article: "Kashmiris Cannot Be Denied the Right to Self-Rule"]

[Text] Mirpur (PR)—Professor Mohammed Ashraf Saraf, leader of Kashmiri freedom fighters, said in an address to the Dawat-i-Jihad Conference (Conference To Invite Holy War) in Mirpur that Indian diplomatic sources have admitted to their failure in occupied Kashmir. The Indian imperialists know this fact that no efforts can stop the Kashmiri Muslims from getting their rights. He added that India has stooped down to improper actions now that it knows it will be defeated. It has started the genocide of Muslims in Kashmir following an unannounced plan. He went on to say that the Indian Government was trying to divert the attention by threatening Pakistan with war over Kashmir. However,

the Indian imperialists will have to first pass the skeletons of Kashmiri freedom fighters before they start this war. During Professor Mohammed Ashraf Saraf's emotional speech, the whole audience stood up and promised to help the Kashmiri freedom fighters. Abdul Rashid Tarabi, leader of Jamaat-i Islami of Azad, Jammu, and Kashmir, demanded the establishment of a revolutionary government in Kashmir. He said that either the position of president or prime minister must be given to the freedom fighters of Kashmir. The government should spend its budget on the freedom of Kashmir rather than on development work such as building roads or streets. He also demanded that Pakistan's prime minister call a meeting of all foreign ministers of Muslim countries in order to gain the solid support of the Islamic world. He appealed to Pakistan's prime minister to visit other countries in order to pave the way for a resolution of the Kashmir issue. District Commissioner Mohammed Ayub Muslim, Professor Nor al-Samad, Engineer Khalid Khan, and leader of freedom fighters Tanvir Ahmed also addressed the conference. At the conclusion, leaders of the Mirpur conference presented a check for 200,000 rupees for the freedom fighters.

Kashmir Issue Affecting Relations With India

*91AS1017C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
14 May 91 p 10*

[Text] Prime Minister Mohammed Nawaz Sharif has announced that India should resolve the Kashmir issue according to the wishes of the Kashmiri people in order to establish peace in the region. The Indian atrocities have reached their extremes now in Kashmir. Other Islamic countries as well as human rights advocates are expressing anger and sorrow over this issue. India, which calls itself the advocate of democracy and brags about being the leader of secularism, does not look back on its actions. Instead, it is using the strategy of spreading a false propaganda against Pakistan and is employing threats to make this human rights issue look like an India-Pakistan conflict. Only yesterday, the Indian prime minister warned Pakistan to stop its interference in occupied Kashmir, or it would be taught a lesson. Another threat was issued today in which he talked about the readiness of the Indian Armed Forces. The truth is that Pakistan supports the Kashmiris in their quest to obtaining their right to freedom. It also acts as an advocate of the Kashmiris in the United Nations. However, because of its own internal and external problems, it is not in a position to carry out all the responsibilities that are thrust upon it, legally or morally. India is ignoring the resolutions passed by the United Nations to which it has agreed more than once. The United Nations resolved that the people of Kashmir should hold a referendum to decide on their future.

India knows that the people of Kashmir will decide against it and in favor of Pakistan. Therefore, it is trying to crush the Kashmiri people's struggle for freedom, which actually is a struggle to leave India and join Pakistan. To this end, it has eliminated the puppet

government in Kashmir and has enacted governor's rule, which is another name for a martial law regime. Most of the cities have 24-hour curfews and the respect for Muslim women and the lives of the young and old are not safe. Houses and green fields are burned. About 70 freedom fighters were killed at Kapwada yesterday. This is a daily occurrence, and to make sure that the world stays ignorant of these atrocities, not only are foreign journalists pulled out from Sri Nagar, but local journalists are also not allowed to work there now. Despite all this, the strong desire for freedom has not diminished, and activities against India have not been reduced. It has become almost impossible for India to control the situation in Kashmir because of its internal strife and the instability in other states also. The Indian Government knows well that sooner or later, it will have to give up its stubborn policy and allow the Kashmiri people to decide about their own future. However, India does not want to admit its mistake, and wants to involve Pakistan in it. It is trying to create an atmosphere that could lead to war. The Indian prime minister's threat is part of this plan, and the purpose of telling us about India's armies being ready is also clear. Against this background, Mr. Nawaz Sharief, Pakistan's prime minister, has pointed toward India's responsibility for keeping peace in the region. The Indian leadership should follow this advice. India should be aware of the strong winds of freedom blowing around the world. In this era, when even a superpower such as Soviet Russia had to let its head down and bow out of power after ruling the Soviet Union for 70 years, India too should give up its stubborn policy and let the people of Kashmir exercise their wishes. It should try to improve relations as a good neighbor should. Even serious leaders of India have called Kashmir a cancerous problem. After all, how long will India target the unarmed Kashmiri Muslims and follow the policy of misinforming the world? One day, the world will feel that the atrocities against the people of Kashmir must end.

Even though Pakistan has a more stable democratic government than India and its ideological goals are also clear, India still might start a war to get rid of its other problems. Therefore, we should not limit our actions to statements giving moral support to Kashmiris. We must inform the world about Indian atrocities and the problem that the Kashmiris are facing, and convince all world organizations that the Kashmir issue is a crucial one. It is a fact that India-Pakistan relations cannot be normal until the Kashmir issue is resolved. The danger of war will not go away either. After explaining this problem to the world, countries can be persuaded to pressure India not only to end the Kashmir problem, but also to stop the danger of starting another war.

We should postpone the efforts to improve our economic, trade, and social relations with India at this time. Until India gives up its stubbornness and adopts a realistic policy toward Kashmir, our efforts will be useless. All these talks will be analogous to putting salt on the wounds of the Kashmiris, and will also demoralize

them. We hope that the Indian leadership will demonstrate its pragmatism after listening to the statement issued by Nawaz Sharif, and will consider his suggestions. The Pakistani Government also demonstrates this in its policies.

Indian Attacks Seen as Part of 'Conspiracy'

91AS1016A Karachi JANG in Urdu 10 May 91 p 3

[Article: "Need To Provide an Appropriate Answer"]

[Text] India is bewildered by the continued efforts of the Kashmiri freedom fighters, and has started to blast bombs on Azad Kashmir. This is resulting in loss of life and property, as well as fear and concern in the border areas. The Government of Pakistan has ordered its armed forces to retaliate against the Indian shelling. It is clear that contacts via hotlines with commanders on the border areas have been unsuccessful. The Pakistani armed forces had no alternative but to respond in this way to India's instigatory activities. These border skirmishes between India and Pakistan might spread more, and our government has considered all options. It is important to end all the political unrest in Azad Kashmir and prepare the whole nation to counter Indian ambitions. The United States wants Pakistan to assure India that it is not helping Kashmiri freedom fighters. This is a good example of the unfair attitude toward Pakistan. It appears that this is part of the conspiracy to reduce aid to Pakistan, which in turn is part of the plan against Pakistan in the "new world order."

India's Refusal To Solve Kashmir Issue Deplored

*91AS1017A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
17 May 91 p 1*

[Text] Massey Gate is situated in the busiest and most densely populated part of Rawalpindi Cantonment. On Wednesday morning, a bomb went off in the clinic owned by the chairman of the Kashmir Liberation Front (Farauk group). Ten persons were killed, and thirty were badly wounded. This is an extremely deplorable incident, on which all the anger or sorrow that we can express is not enough. Of the wounded, 17 are in critical condition, and it is felt that the number of the dead will increase. The owner of the clinic frankly said that he did not have any personal animosity with anyone; however, he has been getting threats for several days. He suspected that this "accident" was arranged by foreign agents, especially those belonging to the Indian intelligence, RA. According to the evidence, the owner is not incorrect. The police and all other related agencies that are investigating this incident must keep all possibilities in mind, and try to get to the bottom of this affair. However, everything points toward RA. The sympathy of the owner toward Kashmiri freedom fighters is well-known. It is a fact that Kashmiri freedom fighters have made the life of Indian agents and security personnel in occupied Kashmir miserable. India is forced to take these actions to get even. It is trying to blame Pakistan for the

problems in Kashmir. The freedom struggle of the Kashmiris is at its apex now. India often talks about normalizing India-Pakistan relations. However, the major reason for the conflict between the two countries is the Kashmir issue. India is not willing to discuss the Kashmir issue. The Pakistani Government and the present prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, have very wisely expressed their desire to normalize relations with India. We believe that it would not be realistic to expect any goodwill from India. Until or unless India agrees to resolve the Kashmir issue justly and with an open mind, holding any talks will be nothing more than a pure waste of time. In my opinion, the time has come for the Pakistani Government to bring the Kashmir issue to an international platform, particularly the United Nations, to have it discussed seriously. In bilateral talks, India will never be willing to take an open-minded stand on the Kashmir issue. We noted this tendency after the foreign secretaries of both countries concluded their meeting in New Delhi. In this context, our National Assembly Speaker Gohar Ayub Khan, is correct in having sent a detailed letter on the Kashmir issue to the speakers of the parliaments of every nation in the world. The government should obtain the cooperation of its friends, well-wishers, and objective nations and should inform them of various aspects of the Kashmir issue. This will help them prepare for a fair resolution of the whole issue. Meanwhile, if the investigation proves that the RA was involved in the Rawalpindi incident, then a strong protest should be made to the Indian Government.

India, Israel Claimed Still Planning Attack

*91AS1398B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
14 Aug 91 pp 7, 8*

[Article by Ghani Eirabie: "Alerting UN to Indo-Israeli Designs Against Kahuta"; quotation marks as received]

[Text] That a pre-emptive strike against Pakistan's nuclear facilities by India, Israel or both is not a figment of our imagination is shown by distinct recognition of the possibility by US policy-makers years back. Their current silence on the suspicious presence of 100 Israeli commandos in Srinagar may reflect diminished Washington concern at Pakistan security but it does not undo or dilute the threat to Pakistan.

Indian designs against Pakistan were first revealed in the US Senate's Select Committee on Intelligence on September 13, 1984 by a CIA briefing, based on a secret report smuggled out of the Indian Prime Minister's office by a mole on her staff. The disclosures were so alarming that the panel's Republican Chairman Senator Goldwater and Democratic Deputy Chairman Senator Moynihan made no effort to hide their deep concern and ABC-TV broke the news the same night. The State Department's efforts to downplay it failed and both the WASHINGTON POST and the NEW YORK TIMES splashed the details on September 15.

A despatch from Don Oberdorfer in the POST said: "There have been recurrent intelligence reports over several months, as Pakistan's nuclear programme proceeds at a steady pace, that some in the Indian military are determined to destroy it before nuclear weapons can be produced. Some new reports have been received in recent months. "The United States government took the new reports so seriously that it set up an interagency study to determine the dimensions of the threat; and it was still more alarmed when American intelligence failed to find at their normal location, two squadrons of the Indian Force's Jaguar fighter aircraft, viewed as a potential strike force against Pakistan's Kahuta installation.

A similar story in the NEW YORK TIMES from Philip Tauberman disclosed "While the officials said the threat of a military confrontation did not appear imminent, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has received recommendations from some senior advisers that India conduct a raid against Pakistan's atomic installations to prevent the development of nuclear weapons by Pakistan."

The United States government apparently found evidence enough to warrant alerting Pakistan and warning India against any such strike; and the American press gave good coverage to the warning issued at a Washington press conference by the visiting Pakistan Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan that Islamabad would retaliate in kind against any aggression by India.

Deeply impressed by Israel's highly successful pre-emptive strike against an Iraqi reactor outside Baghdad in 1981, India has sought ever since to persuade Israel either to undertake a similar strike against Pakistan on its own, or provide India the necessary knowhow, or agree to a joint Indo-Israeli raid. Israel, in fact, does not require much persuasion. It has long been angry at Pakistan's strong espousal of the Palestinian cause and deeply disturbed at Pakistan developing what has come to be called an "Islamic bomb," with funds allegedly supplied by Israel's arch foe, President al-Gadhafi of Libya.

Once again, far from being a Pakistani brainchild, the possibility of a strike by Israel at our nuclear installations has been taken seriously enough by Israel's patron-ally, United States of America, to justify the financing of a study by Professor Amos Perlmutter of the Catholic University, Washington D.C. A Jewish-American himself, Perlmutter offering an assessment of "the strategic consequences of nuclear proliferation in South Asia for Israel," at a seminar in Washington on March 8, 1985, disclosed he had been asked to sound out Israeli policymakers on their perception of Pakistan and his conclusion was that: they are concerned about Pakistan but their primary concern at present is with threat to security from Arab states in the immediate neighbourhood. The Jewish author-leader did add however, that Israelis were cognizant of Pakistanis "training several Arab forces, and as such viewed them as involved, though indirectly, in Israeli-Arab conflict."

Professor Perlmutter also said: "Israel, as a small country, was deeply worried about its security and was studying Islamabad's every move carefully and its intelligence agency 'Mossad' was doing everything to gather intelligence." He went on to add: "Pakistan's nuclear development sharpens in Israel's mind the boundaries of conflict." In reply to another question from this writer, the Jewish leader tried to downplay the Israeli threat to Kahuta, saying: "Israel is not going to do another 'Baghdad'; such things happen once in a century. But he had to concede that a lot depended on who was in power in Israel." "A Begin might think Islamabad was only four minutes away," he concluded.

The physical distance between Israel and the projected target in Pakistan and India's fear of an immediate reprisal raid by Pakistan appears to have driven both to seeking a joint venture. Apparently Israel recognises three limitations on its acting alone. One, Pakistan's nuclear installations today are far better protected than Iraq's in 1981. Two, an overland flight from Israel to Pakistan is too long to escape detection by Saudi AWACS [Airborne Warning and Control System] or the across Iran Soviet Union [sentence as published]. Three, any launching of a missile from a submarine or US base at Diego Garcia in the Arabian Sea would directly implicate the Americans.

India's reasons for its preference for not acting alone have been set out by California University Professor Neil Joeck in his assessment entitled "Pakistan's security and nuclear proliferation in South Asia. These are: first, as pointed out by P.R. Chari, former Director of the Indian Institute for Defence Studies & Analysis, the Kahuta facility is well protected and makes it a hard target to destroy. Two, and more important, India fears that any first strike by her against Kahuta would be swiftly followed by a Pakistani attack against India's nuclear facilities; and such an exchange would leave India the worse off, since her incipient deterrent capability against China would thereby be eliminated. Finally, India would be wary of launching an unprovoked attack against Pakistan lest it provoke sharp reaction among India's own Muslim population and alienate Muslim states of the Middle East whose amity India has assiduously cultivated.

This hard-headed assessment by India and Israel has led to their preference for joint action, which in their perception would dilute responsibility of each and confuse the situation and make it difficult for Pakistan to decide whom to retaliate against. So long as Israelis were present in Sri Lanka during 1986-87 to train Sri Lankan forces in operation against Tamil rebels, India did not ratify the Indo-Pakistan accord against attack on each other's nuclear facilities, but when they departed, India felt it had no cover left and it agreed to exchange instruments of ratification with Pakistan. The presence of Israeli commandos in Srinagar, whether to train Indian security forces in more brutal techniques of revolt, suppression or explore the prospects of a strike

against Kahuta, definitely marks a return to a joint-action scenario—and PLO chief Yasser Arafat's warning re-confirms the imminence of the threat.

Further evidence of collusion between India and Israel has been cited by columnist Mushahid Hussain in a recent newspaper article on the basis of two new books on Mossad operations—one by agent Victor Ostrovsky titled "By Way of Deception" and the other by two Israeli journalists Dan Reviv and Yossi Melman titled "Every Spy a Prince." According to Ostrovsky: "We studied the Islamic bomb and one of my assignments in mid-1984 was to escort a group of Indian nuclear scientists who were worried about the threat of the Islamic bomb (Pakistan bomb) and had come on a secret mission to Israel to meet with Israeli nuclear experts and exchange information. He also reports Israel training Indian commandos.

The other book also confirms and justifies the secret relationship between the two countries on grounds of commonality of interests and says: "For India and Israel, the common potential enemy was Pakistan—the Muslim nation committed to helping the Arab countries of the Middle East." Israeli operatives even explored the possibility of acting together with Indian forces to destroy the Pakistani reactor." This book further discloses that the American Jew Jonathan Pollard caught spying for Israel in 1985, had passed on detailed information gleaned from the CIA file to Mossad on Pakistan's nuclear installations, which Israel viewed as posing the greatest threat to Israeli security after the destruction of the Iraqi reactor in 1981. Pollard confessed to concentrating on Israel's "outer ring of enemies, namely Libya, Algeria, Iraq and Pakistan."

The concept of three rings of enemies was first presented by Israel's hardlining Defence Minister Moshe Sharon, in a paper he presented to Tel Aviv University's Institute of Strategic Studies in the early eighties. He lists Pakistan clearly and categorically as a potential enemy. He is currently Housing Minister in the Shamir cabinet and is defiantly engaged in settling Soviet Jews on Arab lands in the teeth of denunciation by the UN Security Council even as Shamir reveals his intransigence over the US-USSR sponsored conference on the Middle East.

All accounts are agreed that Prime Minister Shamir is every bit as fanatical and ruthless an Israeli leader as Begin was—or more; and that provokes a recall of Professor Perlmutter's assessment that a lot depended on who was in power in Israel for "A Begin might think Islamabad was only four minutes away."

Now that another Begin is in power in Israel and Israeli commandos have been found in Srinagar and Hindu fanaticism is rapidly gaining ground in India, the threat of a joint Indo-Israeli strike against Kahuta needs to be taken more seriously. It needs to be met with a two-pronged action: first, we must alert the UN Security

Council to the projected assault on our sovereignty; and second, we must prepare ourselves militarily to pre-empt the pre-emptive strike.

Internal Affairs

Foreign Policy Goals Reexamined

Foreign Minister Speech

91AS1290A Lahore *THE NATION* in English 12 Jul 91
pp 1, 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore—Foreign Affairs Secretary-General Akram Zaki has said that Pakistan at last has a government which will prepare a 'foreign policy of Pakistan, not for Pakistan' and a leader who represents the ethos of the nation.

Briefing a gathering of newspaper editors and leading intellectuals on 'Pakistan's Foreign Policy Options in the 90s' at a lunch hosted by CPNE [Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors] President and Editor of *THE NATION* Arif Nizami, Mr. Zaki said that now the country's foreign policy would be driven by internal considerations rather than external factors.

In his wide ranging speech, he covered most areas of interest for Pakistan, though he failed to mention future relations with the USSR, Eastern Europe or the post-1992 EEC. He concentrated on discussing the Pak-U.S. relationship, the Afghan problem and Indo-Pak relations, as well as examining relations with the rest of the Muslim world and the Third World. Excerpts from the lecture and answers to the questions that followed:

Internal Imperatives

We need to realise our internal imperatives if we are to formulate an appropriate foreign policy. These are the need for peaceful coexistence, to strengthen our democracy—this is a democratic government, so it has tried to solve problems through the democratic method of dialogue. It has achieved two major successes this way, the NFC [Nuclear Fuel Complex] Award and the Indus Water Accord, it has passed the Shariat Bill through Parliament, not by promulgating an ordinance, while its economic reforms include a privatisation policy, deregulation, and providing investment opportunities.

Other imperatives are regional peace, which is related to and as essential as internal law and order, which is the most important priority of the government. We must also solve our longstanding disputes—until the Afghan-istan problem is solved, our borders are not safe, and we cannot hope to strengthen our democratic process of our economy.

We must aim to maintain peace and avoid war in the 1990s while maintaining our economic policies, and if this is achieved, there is no reason why Pakistan cannot

at least double its per capita income in this period and enter the 21st century with a greater degree of confidence in ourselves.

(Asked the effect of continued failure to control law and order) It would impose a considerable limitation on our foreign policy is the cause and terrorism the effect. But we believe that ours were principled stands, such as on Afghanistan and on Kashmir, and this sort of cause-and-effect relationship is what the other side would wish us to make.

U.S.-Pak Relations

It is an old relationship which has gone through ups and downs, but in spite of difficulties, it has endured. It must be shaped now by internal imperatives rather than external dictates, with the onus of maintaining the relationship on the other side if it tries to impose conditions. The delegation led by Senate Chairman Waseem Sajjad made clear that it was not seeking economic aid, which they confirmed as well. However, we must remember that the USA is a very powerful country, and hostility towards it will not serve our national interests in any way. We agreed to go on talking on areas where difficulties are and to cooperate where there is agreement. The visit reopened dialogue, delineated areas of agreement and isolated areas of differences.

Pakistan also took the opportunity of reminding the Americans of our commitment to nuclear nonproliferation since 1974, since India first tested a device, when we called for South Asia to be a nuclear-free-zone. A resolution to this effect has been passed in the UN with ever increasing majorities, with 142 votes in favour last year. However, we made it clear we wanted a solution on a regional basis, and would not accept a discriminatory regime. Since 1978 we have offered to sign the Non Proliferation Treaty [NPT] simultaneously with India, and the prime minister in his 7 June speech offered to have the USA, the USSR and China consult with India and Pakistan to solve this issue. France said that it too wanted to be involved in the process, and has come out with a position which is more or less the same as ours: that all nations have a right to acquire nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, that nonproliferation can be arranged on a regional basis, and that every nation has the right to accommodate its security interests. We also expressed our readiness to eschew weapons of mass destruction if India did so, and also to negotiate a mutual reduction in conventional armaments compatible with minimum security requirements.

(Asked about the aid factor) Aid is not essential to the relationship. It is true that in the past, every foreign visit was judged by the amount of foreign aid brought back, but as the prime minister said when he took oath, "I have broken the begging bowl." When we told the Americans that we had not come to ask for aid, they were initially taken aback, but then we pointed out that aid

was not all that was in common between us. We felt that they dealt with us with greater respect after that.

(Asked about American pressure on other donors) We pointed out that obeying requirements of their own law was acceptable, but pressurising other countries indicated something further. They agreed that they would cooperate on issues where their law did not require suspension, and also would not bring pressure to bear on other countries.

(Asked about the American attitude to the nuclear issue) We managed to make them more sympathetic to our point of view than at the time the Pressler Amendment was passed, and Congress passed an amendment applying Pressler to India while we were there.

(Asked on areas of agreement) They support our democratic process, our economic policies and our regional cooperation efforts with Iran and Turkey. We both agree on the need for drugs control, for a political solution in Afghanistan and for stability in the Gulf as areas of cooperation. They did not raise the question of Pak-China defence cooperation with us, but they have with China.

Indo-Pak Relations

Just as we seek cooperation on our Western flank, we see regionalism, such as in the ASEAN countries, growing. SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] too has developed over the years, but there are bilateral problems. On 22 November, the prime minister met Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar at the SAARC summit, where they agreed that peace could come to the region provided that the Kashmir issue was solved on a just and equitable basis. The prime minister made it clear that the time had come to do so on the basis of the UN resolutions on the subject, as a result of which it was decided that confidence-building measures be taken.

Secretary-level talks took place in December and April, where two important agreements were made, to give advance information of troop manoeuvres and movements and to prevent violations of airspace. However, the government fell, and when Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated, Mian Nawaz Sharif took the opportunity to go to Delhi, where he met the leaders of all the parties and told them that whoever formed the government, Pakistan wanted to solve the Kashmir issue on a just and equitable basis in the light of the UN resolutions. Then their response had been positive, and we are now watching the new government's stance. The recent SAARC meeting brought hopeful indications, and the Secretaries will meet in September, by which time the intent of the new government would be clear. The two leaders' first opportunity to meet will come at the Colombo summit in November.

We must seek a just solution of the Kashmir problem within a regional framework. They are again talking of Kashmir in the world: Mr. Hattersley and Mr. Kaufman confirmed that a future Labour government would raise

the Kashmir issue in the United Nations and in the Commonwealth. The violations of human rights there have had a major impact, and even within India there are some voices heard saying that the problem needs attention and that mistakes were made at the time of accession. I don't know if a minority government can take bold decisions, but we hope that wisdom will prevail and peace and justice triumph.

(Asked about Kashmiri self-determination) Our approach is that the Kashmiri people have the right to self-determination, but we are not proposing a fresh solution. We see it as a problem left over from 1947. Western intellectuals and leaders have asked us about the 'Third Option,' of Kashmiri independence, but the UN resolutions which have not been implemented say that Kashmir shall opt for either India or Pakistan.

Afghanistan

After one superpower left Afghanistan, the other's interest in the region was reduced. However, there is a civil war still on, and Iran and Pakistan face the problem of the refugee population. Obtaining the successful return of the Soviet forces was based on the struggle of the Afghan people themselves, on the international support they received, and upon the negotiations which ultimately led to the Soviet withdrawal. The struggle in Afghanistan is not finished, and the Kabul regime still receives Soviet support.

Pakistan is taking three approaches to a solution: a political solution through the United Nations, involving Saudi Arabia and Iran in the process, and achieving an agreement among the Afghan groups on a political solution. We have been holding meetings with the Afghans for this, and I had a seven-and-a-half-hour meeting with them for this. My impression was that perhaps not all the Afghan groups realised the gravity of the situation, but some did see that they had to act fast lest time run out on them.

We are working with Iran and Saudi Arabia on this, and trying our best to persuade the Afghans to settle a formula for a political settlement, which is for them alone to decide. There has been an impression that Pakistan is favouring one group or the other, but that is not so. The British and the Soviets both made the mistake of imposing political settlements on the Afghan people, which they would not tolerate. We do not intend to make that mistake.

(Asked whether any institution had a veto on the Foreign Office' formulation of Afghan policy) The question is a hangover from the transition period of 1988-90, when none of three governments had the time to master affairs. Foreign policy is formulated after input from all agencies. Afghan policy specifically is handled by the Afghan Cell, in which all agencies are represented, including the prime minister and the president.

Muslim World

One of the major interests of Pakistan is that the ethos of the people makes us want the closest of relations with fraternal Muslim countries. Pakistan was deeply concerned when one Muslim country attacked another, and we tried to work on how to stop conflict and the incalculable damage that would ensue. When the war did start, the prime minister visited other countries himself and sent envoys to seek ways of bringing about peace.

Pakistan seeks stability in that region, and we have played a modest role in bringing about an improvement of relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran. We are pursuing relations with the Gulf Cooperation Council as well as with Iran and Turkey. While our cooperation with the latter two goes back over 30 years, in May the three countries arrived at three important decisions: a protocol to introduce preferential tariffs with an initial reduction of 10 percent aimed at ultimately eliminating tariffs, the setting up of a joint investment and development bank, and agreeing to hold a summit before the end of the year, after various technical committees have made preparations, to decide further measures for cooperation. In August, the OIC Foreign Ministers will meet in Turkey as well.

Other Relations

Our relations with China are as firm as ever. We need to concentrate as well on our relations with the Far East, where we have important relationships with Thailand, Malaysia, Korea and Japan, where the prime minister's visit had to be cancelled due to the internal situation. In the near future, we also intend to build relations with the 50 countries in Africa, which we have never worked on before. We will offer scholarships to their students and exchange parliamentary delegations as a first step. Latin America is also important in this context.

A Multicentred World

It is being seen as a unipolar world, but it is developing as a multicentred world. The UN Security Council needs to have more attention paid now, because it is becoming increasingly effective in the world. We need to work on our relationship with the five permanent Council members, who have a veto power, and we should also remember that we must also pay attention to Africa and Latin America. Remember, there are three African members on the Council, and two Latin American members. At some stage, we must be able to take the Kashmir issue there and remind them of the resolutions that the Council itself had passed, asking them to enforce them just as they are enforcing their other resolutions.

The New Foreign Office

In the last three months, we have made two important structural changes: we have set up a Department of Policy Planning, which will deal with medium-term policy planning, leaving the Foreign Office to deal with day-to-day issues and short-term planning, while the

research institutes will be associated with us for long term planning, and we have set up a Department of Economic Coordination [DEC] to promote our economic and commercial interests abroad.

I feel that the research institutes' utility would be enhanced by this association, both to the nation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, giving an outside perspective on policy presently absent. As for the DEC, this is a recognition of the primacy of economic factors in internal prosperity and external influence. We have seen that countries concentrating on military and political strength to the neglect of their economies have suffered. A nation's total strength counts—its economic strength, its technology and the quality of its manpower.

Dependence Not Advisable

91AS1290B Lahore *THE NATION* in English 18 Jul 91
p 11

[Article by Ikram Ullah: "Pakistan's Foreign Policy Options in the 90's"]

[Text] Before venturing to hypothesize on Pakistan's foreign policy options in the first quarter of the 21st century or even looking through the 1990s, one has to cudgel one's brains to presuppose a number of hazards. Our brief but turbulent history of four and forty years has brought home to us the bitter truth that in inter-state relations, the very best of friends and the most trusted allies cannot be taken for granted. In the quest for our objectives it is, therefore, in the realm of diplomacy that we must rummage for pieces and patterns that can be strung together to produce the design of an amulet which may guide our thoughts for directing the total power of the State of Pakistan towards our national goals.

Whatever claims many may have made in the adventurous endeavour in the past, one should not forget that the acceleration of history is taking place at so fast a tempo that it is not easy to keep pace with events. But this is a situation with which foreign policy-makers or those who aspire to that profession must learn to live with. Most of us have, over the years, watched with wonder as well as amusement, the claims of every new Foreign Office Messiah in every new regime that the predecessor regimes had lived on adhocism, without laying down, even the foundations of a short-or-long-term foreign policy for Pakistan. In other words the Ministry of External Affairs, over the past many decades, has been no better than an orphanage.

The long-term strategic goals of a nation deal with the comprehensive concept of applying a nation's total power to attain national objectives, in peace as well as in war. Pakistan's national strategy, therefore, should encompass all the elements of national power—political, economic psychological and military—and consequently has to exploit all national assets such as geo-strategic position, national resources and ideological aspirations.

Other countries in our neighbourhood, particularly India as well as the major powers have worked out well-defined national strategies and grand designs of their own, to control situations at the global level in order to attain their national objectives. In interstate relations wherever the goals converge, or at least do not conflict, there is no friction and diplomacy is smooth sailing. In case of a clash of interests, the weaker country gets into big problems, needing diplomacy of the highest quality. It is like walking through a mine field. The nuclear issue has introduced a new dimension in this complex relationship between the industrially strong and economically under-developed states. The current calculus of power at global level cannot be realistically grasped without a proper understanding of a nuclear dilemma faced by Muslim countries much as Iraq and Pakistan. In a recent letter to the United Nations, Iraq has officially made known its total surrender and submitted itself to inspections of all types. Pakistan is hanging in a state that could be best described as "to be or not to be."

Clearly, the strength and soundness of the economic base and solidity of infrastructure assume great importance, so does the most vital component of a nation's political strength and stability. Power is asserted through the manipulation of economic relations, a network of diplomatic and military alliances and regional or bilateral linkage, the use of information media, and the propagation of ideas of images to influence attitudes. The strength of the armed forces radiates influence and strengthens projections as panoply of power. For this reason, military aid plays an important part in formulating foreign relations. Thus the invisible offensive—whether economic, political or psychological—can take many forms:

- Withholding or granting of aid (economic or military).
- Making either of these conditional on good behaviour (there is nothing given for free in inter-state relations).
- Creating tensions between various sections of the population and highlighting internal contradiction between the government and its people.
- Encouraging religious, ethnic or sectarian feelings.
- Inducements of various kinds.

Trade and investment, the creation of a network of influence at various levels, technological exchanges including nuclear technology, food aid and even humanitarian assistance—all form valuable and well-planned strands for the projection of power. The geographical position of Pakistan has conferred on it special strategic value and significance. Geopolitics is a vast subject. It has been rightly said that "the key to power struggles lies in geography." Nuclear strategy must also be viewed within a political as well as geographical framework. Furthermore, the placing of listening stations, the establishment of transmission points, rest and replenishment facilities for fleets or air transit points or logistic depots relate largely to geographical position. It was geography that made Pakistan a 'Front Line State' during the recent

Afghan conflict. Indeed, if we penetrate the facade of contemporary events in our region or even in Europe, geography and power would be found to lie at the heart of international relations.

Military planning is based on threat perceptions. At the national and strategic levels, threat perceptions have to be worked out by the government of the day. These threat perceptions could persist, vary or change, over a period of time. Similarly in the formation of Pakistan's foreign policy and working out its options, the national goals have to be clearly defined by the government, which has to provide the keyboard on which the desired tunes are to be played at a given time. These have to be judiciously selected and precisely defined.

Just like no operational strategy of the Armed Forces can be worked out without listing and analysing enemy hypotheses (possible courses of action), similarly, foreign policy options cannot be worthwhile and effective without a calculated assessment of the concerned countries' intentions towards Pakistan at a given period of time. Thorough studies are, therefore, needed to determine, for example:

- The situation in India during the 90s—whether it moves towards a mini-superpower status or Balkanisation? Whether it is led by secular or BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] Hindu forces? The trend is obvious. In 1984, the BJP had only two seats in Lok Sabha, in 1989, this number increased to 80 seats. In the last elections in 1991, they have swept 120 seats in Lok Sabha, in 1989, this number increased to 80 seats. In the last elections in 1991, they have swept 120 seats. It will, therefore, not be surprising if the Hindu cult paves BJP's path into power in 1996 or even before. The trend of Islamisation in Pakistan is quite obvious. The religious fervour in both countries should not be ignored while working out our options vis-a-vis India.
- The means to be adopted for the resolution of the Kashmir issue is another pertinent foreign policy issue. There have already been three wars. The current freedom struggle is drifting towards an Independent Kashmir. How is Pakistan going to respond to this new challenge, particularly in view of the reaction of the United States, China and the Soviet Union?
- What relationship Pakistan visualises with India, in the '90s and early part of the next century? As for the prime minister's proposals about nuclear-free South Asia, Indian views of "inhibiting progress at a global level" have been made known.
- In the "New World Order," Pakistan does not seem to have a place of pride unless it compromises on its nuclear programme like Iraq. Pakistan's foreign policy planners have to work out the options between immediate and pressing needs and postponed gratification of these needs for more fruitful long-term results and between self-reliance—which entails tightening of the belts now—as opposed to mortgaging future generations by loading them with debts.
- As for the "Ummah" and the Muslim world, Pakistan never had two opinions about standing by their side.

We have consistently supported the cause of the Palestinians. However, since one tactical error can ruin a strategic chain, Pakistan's policy over the Suez Crisis in 1956, has put a stigma on our credibility which has not yet been washed away completely in spite of our stand on the Gulf war. Time has come for Pakistan to reassess and review its relations with the Middle East and North African states on bilateral diplomatic basis, instead of purely on the "Zeal" of Islam. This includes Iran and Turkey. New horizons are opening in Africa and Latin America.

- Pakistan has played an over ambitious role in Afghanistan, disguised in the garb of principled stand of humanitarian and moral support. We have had enough of too many options. The sooner we realise that Pakistan is not yet in a position to liberate other oppressed people, the better it would be for the common man, who has already suffered more than his share for this Jihad. The only wise option now is to warp up the Afghan Cell and leave the Afghans to settle their own affairs just like we in Pakistan would like to resolve ours. The U.S., the Soviet Union, Iran and Saudi Arabia seem willing to resolve the Afghanistan issue in the 90s.
- Pakistan's friendship with China has stood the test of time. In the 90s and thereafter, it would find rapprochement with the Soviet Union and India in the interest of its stability and economic growth. The Jama'at-i-Islami is an international organisation, with branches in India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, and perhaps also in Sinkiang and Kashgar. It believes to have a divine mission to spread Islam in the southern states of the Soviet Union. Its Amir went over to Khost in Afghanistan to celebrate the liberation of the town. Before it gets too late, the government of Pakistan will have to decide and define the role of the Foreign Office and JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] in inter-State relations. During the Gulf war, the JI Amir was more active in Baghdad than our diplomats.
- The Soviet Union has no doubt received a setback but it is still a major military power and writing it off in the '90s would be a fatal blunder. Since independence, the compulsions of history have put Pakistan in the lap of Washington. The Moscow option was never considered seriously. It is time steps are now initiated in that direction to bring a wider span of activity on our diplomatic horizon.
- The USA is not to retain the monopoly of the unipolar world on a permanent basis. Europe and Japan are new stars emerging on the international skies. Pakistan must grasp new opportunities and grapple with new initiatives and new options with the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The balance of power in the world remains in constant flux and therefore has to be continually adjusted to changing circumstances. Pakistan cannot risk its survival on the goodwill of a dominant power. Our foreign policy planners have to guard against the temptation to claim anything like certitude on a path along which "many a sphinx await the unwary traveller."

U.S. Seen as Threat

91AS1290C Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 12 Jul 91 p 10

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "What Do the People Say?"]

[Excerpt] Gallup Pakistan's June 1991 report on public attitudes regarding domestic and foreign policy issues is a healthy pointer to the growth of Pakistanis as a nation which is increasingly self-assured, with a highly mature understanding of complex domestic and foreign issues. This survey confirms what many analysts and observers of the national scene have been citing as "popular" perception about various issues. And it also debunks the notion of some, including those in the government, and in the West, that Pakistanis are a "highly emotional and volatile people." On the whole, the survey reaffirms Pakistanis' view of themselves in an identity that is essentially defined either by Islam or with reference to an abiding distrust of India.

Asked to name the "most important problems of the country at this time," only five percent of respondents considered defence and national integrity a "problem." Conversely, 70 percent of the respondents felt that the "most important problems," were a combination of unemployment, inflation and law and order, that priority. In other words, Pakistanis are relaxed about the question of their state or its defence, unlike the past when there was a nervousness of sorts about national survival or fears regarding "threats" to it from outside. This confidence in the security of the Pakistani state, and those responsible for providing this security, is underlined by the support of 63 percent of the respondents for increase in defence budget. If this is a vote of confidence in the army's ability to defend the country, concurrently, the respondents provided a vote of no confidence in the ability of the police to provide law and order, with only 22 percent of respondents supporting an increase in the police budget, as opposed to 44 percent who feel that the police budget should be decreased!

Such maturity extends to vital foreign policy and national security issues as well as including the nuclear programme, attitudes towards India and perceptions about the United States, particularly in the wake of the Gulf War. Interestingly, probably in response to the heightened American pressure on the nuclear programme and the resultant pronouncements of the government in this regard, for instance, support for Pakistan making nuclear weapons is almost unanimous with 87 percent of respondents supporting the acquisition of a nuclear weapons capability for Pakistan.

This near unanimity on the nuclear issue among Pakistanis finds reflection in their belief that American aid should be refused if it is tied to reversing the nuclear programme or Pakistan providing assurances to Washington that "it would not make the bomb." In that case, 77 percent are clear that Pakistan should reject such aid.

In any case, there is an interesting weariness with American aid, with a far fewer percentage supporting any eager pursuit or acceptance of such aid from the United States. Only 22 percent feel that Pakistan should continue to accept or pursue such aid, down from 62 percent in 1981, when the American aid started flowing in the wake of Afghanistan, although this figure had slumped to 45 percent in 1987, when the second aid package was being negotiated.

Pakistanis are also clear about the source of threat to the country, which they see essentially as emanating from India, with 51 percent convinced that India would use nuclear weapons against Pakistan in the eventuality of an India-Pakistan military conflict.

But this view of India in no way implies a militaristic posture or an attitude that stems from some irrational bellicosity, a fact reflected in majority support in signing a no war pact with India. Interestingly, this proposal of no war pact with India has consistently been supported by a majority of respondents although it in no way diminishes their distrust of Pakistan's principal adversary, since 71 percent are not willing to trust Indian assurances of not attacking Pakistani nuclear facilities. However, the single most important transformation in the popular view has come about regarding the United States, which is not etched in the mindset of Pakistanis as a country which is neither a friend of Pakistan nor of the Muslim World and cannot be trusted. This increasingly negative view of the United States is "balanced" by an increasingly positive view of the Soviet Union. Only 11 percent of Pakistanis are willing to trust the U.S. as opposed to 17 percent who are willing to trust the Soviet Union. And if 55 percent of Pakistanis still find the Soviet Union untrustworthy, a higher sampling, 60 percent, find the U.S. untrustworthy. And what is probably the single most important change in response to the question regarding "who is of greater threat to the Muslim World today," 75 percent gave the top slot to the U.S., while only five percent felt this way about the Soviet Union. Five years ago, in 1986, a similar survey had termed the USSR as "a greater threat to the Muslim World today" while only 9 percent felt that way then about the U.S. Such negativism about the U.S. extends to its president as well, with 59 percent of Pakistanis voting Bush as the "most disliked" leader as opposed to 10 percent who felt that way about Gorbachev. Interestingly, 25 percent felt that Gorbachev was their "most liked" Western leader as opposed to only 8 percent for Bush. [passage omitted]

Moving Closer to Iran

91AS1290D Lahore *THE NATION* in English 14 Jul 91
p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Islamabad-Tehran Strategic Bond"]

[Text] The visit of the Commander of the Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran-e-Inqilab), General Mohsin Rezai, is

yet another pointer to the significant expansion of Pakistan-Iran relations, which, in recent years, have assumed the nature of a strategic linkage. The Revolutionary Guards were conceived by Imam Khomeini after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979 and since then, they have not only been an institutional mainstay of the Revolution but performed creditable feats as well during the war with Iraq. When Mohsin Rezai overtook as Commander of the Revolutionary Guards in 1982, he was just 28 years old and his predecessor, interestingly, Agha Abbas Zamani Abu Sharif, later was Iran's Ambassador to Pakistan. Today, he lives near Peshawar and serves as an Adviser to the Hizb-e-Islami of Gulbadin Hikmatyar.

The visit of Mohsin Rezai has a three-fold significance. First, it is an important part of the series of steps that have been taken in the last three years to strengthen the military relationship between Islamabad and Tehran, in the face of stiff American opposition. Soon after taking over as Chief of Army Staff, General Aslam Beg during his speech at the Command and Staff College in Quetta on 25 October 1988 propounded the theme of a "strategic consensus" between Pakistan and Iran, in which he then included Afghanistan and Turkey. During a visit in January 1989 of the Iranian Minister for the Revolutionary Guards, Ali Shamkhani, who is now Iran's Naval chief, he had said that "Iran, in collaboration with Pakistan, will form an important part of the Islamic defence line in the region."

The Americans have been very concerned about this emerging military relationship with Iran, and during an April 1990 Washington visit, a senior Pentagon official said in so many words that "the United States is concerned at this growing military cooperation between Islamabad and Tehran." Even the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), who later led the American war effort against Iraq, General Norman Schwarzkopf, personally told General Aslam Beg regarding Iran that "General, you are over estimating the Iranian capability to support Pakistan," to which General Beg retorted: "General, you don't know the Iranians as well as we do."

Second, the visit of Mohsin Rezai to Islamabad comes after an important visit to Tehran by Chinese Premier Li Peng, as part of a Middle East tour. During this visit, both China and Iran strongly condemned the American Conception of a "New World Order," jointly vowing to resist "U.S. domination." During a banquet for Li Peng on 7 July, President Rafsanjani gave a very forthright statement of support to the struggling Kashmiris when he said that "in relation with Kashmir, the Islamic Republic of Iran declares her objection to all forms of oppressive acts as well as killing and use of force, and demands the restoration of the denied rights of the Muslims for self-determination within the dictates of the United Nations."

Third, the visit of Mohsin Rezai to Pakistan, the highest ranking Iranian military official to visit the country after

the Islamic Revolution, comes just a fortnight before the impending important visit of Iranian Foreign Minister Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, to Islamabad, the main purpose of which will be to hold a quadripartite dialogue on the Afghan issue with Pakistan, Iran, the Peshawar-based Afghan mujahideen and the Tehran-based Afghan mujahideen. Iran had originally proposed such a meet in October 1989 in the course of an international Afghan conference convened in Tehran.

This joint effort of Dr. Velayati and Akram Zaki is important on two counts, namely, Pakistan and Iran are resuming a coordinated approach on the Afghan issue after a two-year break when Pakistan, at Saudi and American prodding, decided to go ahead and establish an Interim Afghan Government in February 1989, bypassing the Tehran based mujahideen, and this is also indicative of Pakistan's moving away from an American-oriented Afghan policy to a regional-based one in cooperation with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The strategic nature of the Pakistan-Iran relationship can best be understood in the light of recent high-level military visitors as well as substantive developments on the ground. These moves on the military front have also come in the context of economic ties and political intimacy developing between the two countries. After the January 1989 visit of Ali Shamkhani, General Aslam Beg visited Tehran in February 1990, when the timing of the visit coincided with the uprising in Occupied Kashmir, and his visit was followed by the March 1990 visit of a high-powered Iranian military delegation led by Chairman, Joint Chief of the Iranian Armed Forces, Brig. Ali Shahbazi, with his counterpart in Pakistan, Admiral Ifikhar Ahmed Sirohey, twice journeying to Tehran in February and May 1991 respectively. General Beg's tenure as COAS [Chief of Army Staff] has seen a blossoming of Pakistan-Iran military cooperation, which now extends to the area of defence production as well, with an ammunition factory being jointly set up by the two sides in Iran. Experts from the Pakistan Ordnance Factories (POF) have visited Iran for this purpose, including the POF Chairman, Lt.-Gen. Sabeeh Qamaruzzaman, who went to Tehran in January 1991 along with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

Other elements of expansion of relations between Iran and Pakistan include the participation of Iranian officers in the senior National Defence Course at the National Defence College in Rawalpindi, the beginning of a dialogue between the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad and the Institute for Political and International Studies in Tehran, and the appointment of a representative of the Revolutionary Guards at the Iranian Embassy in Islamabad, in addition to the Iranian Military Attache.

This year, the relationship was further reinforced in other areas as well, with two specific decisions. First, Pakistan and Iran decided to establish an oil refinery at Karachi, which has laid the basis for comprehensive energy cooperation between the two neighbours. And

during the recent semi-annual meeting of the Pakistan-Iran Joint Border Commission held in Zahidan, Pakistan accepted the long-standing Iranian demand to repatriate those Iranian exiles in Pakistan whom the Iranian government would consider as being either "criminal or subversive."

The evolution of a new special relationship between Pakistan and Iran augurs well for Pakistan's quest to stand up to American political pressures. In effect, what is actually happening is the emergence of an embryonic axis linking up Islamabad, Tehran and Beijing. It is, therefore, no accident that Iran and China are two regional countries that are both resisting the American designs in the shape of the so-called "New World Order" and these are the two neighbours of Pakistan who have also been fully supportive of Pakistan's quest for nuclear independence. The Iran link also provides Pakistan's foreign policy with an option independent of the United States, plus providing room for manoeuvre in the regional context. The basic message is clear: if Iran and China, Pakistan's two best friends, can resist the American diktat so can Pakistan. And this also reaffirms that pragmatism of President Rafsanjani and the Chinese leadership notwithstanding, neither is compromising on points of principle.

Foreign Affairs Minister Defended

91AS1398C Lahore THE NATION in English 2 Aug 91
p 8

[Article by Khalid Hasan: "Akram Zaki's Detractors"]

[Text] You do not have to go to the state of Denmark to look for something rotten. It is right here, outside your door, in your morning newspaper, over the radio and in your television transmission. It pours out of the mouths of your cabinet ministers, politicians, arbiters of public morality, and hundreds of thousands of others who appear to have nothing else to do.

Such is our depravity now that there is no level too low for us to sink. Abuse is the order of the day, calumny its handmade. Our homes are no safer than our streets. You can be robbed in either. That is the sort of choice available to the people of this country.

There is a parliament but it does not make laws. This function is performed by faceless bureaucrats in the Civil Secretariat. You only learn about new legislation through newspapers which dutifully print the text without explaining what it means. There are so many different penal codes in operation in Pakistan today that even lawyers feel lost in this maize. However, this is good news for the police who can now choose the law most injurious to the citizen from a large menu. You can go to jail a la carte, so to speak.

Decent conduct, good manners, simple courtesy and thought for others are no longer either required or in fashion. You can do what you want, from parking your

car in the middle of the street to molesting your neighbour's wife, and remain reasonably sure that no questions will be asked. You can say what you want, when you want, where you want. Nothing will happen to you. On the other hand, the more disguising your words, the greater the coverage accorded to them. This is the only country where in order to become famous you need little more than the ability to abuse.

Take this. Last week, two of the better known politicians of this land—Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar and Mr Zahid Sarfraz—have publicly questioned the patriotic credentials for Pakistan's Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs. Mr Akram Zaki. For all practical purposes, I should add, he is now our Foreign Minister. And what has been the basis of this vile and contemptible attack? None other than the assumption that since he is married to a Hindu woman from Nepal, he is not fit to hold the office that he holds. This makes his loyalty to Pakistan suspect it had been argued. In other words, Mr Zaki who has been a member of the country's diplomatic service for over thirty-two years is an enemy agent by virtue of the religion of his wife.

That Mrs Akram Zaki who comes from the Nepalese royal family—her brother, someone tells me, is the current Prime Minister of that country—became a Muslim when she married her husband is, in my view, of no consequence at all. It does not matter if she is a Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist or animist. That is a personal matter and it is neither Mr Khar's business nor mine.

As regards Mr Sarfraz, he should keep his thoughts to himself as they are both boring and increasingly vulgar. He and Sheikh Rashid Ahmed "bell" it should be noted in passing, are soul mates. Why are they not on the same side?

Anyway, if the matter of Mr Akram Zaki's wife's religion is to be made the basis of questioning his loyalty to Pakistan, let me ask these two gentlemen where do they think it will stop.

Why not start with Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who married Rattanbai, daughter of one of the leading Parsi families of the time? And what about Shaheed-e-Millat Khan Liaquat Ali Khan who the Quaid chose as his principal lieutenant despite the fact that his wife, the late Raana Liaquat Ali Khan was born a Hindu? If Mr Akram Zaki is, to be blamed because of his wife's religion at birth, then in accordance with the same logic, we should start with the founder of Pakistan and his deputy. I will watch this space for what if anything Mr Khar and Mr Sarfraz have to say on this point.

A few words about Mr Zaki. I have known him for more than twenty years as have many others. I have also had occasion to meet his wife. A more gracious, self-effacing couple is hard to come by. I have also seen Mr Zaki at work in many capitals of the world and I can state for the information of his two detractors that he has brought Pakistan great honour wherever he has gone and made many friends for the country and its people. Had Mr

Zaki been what Mr Khar and Mr Sarfraz allege, I can assure them that the government of the People's Republic of China would have declined to accept his appointment. Beijing normally makes do with one Indian Ambassador, not two. It is a matter of shame that such calumny should appear in print about anyone, least of all a person who has served this country with distinction in many parts of the world and, if I may add, because he was married to a lady who has always showed the same devotion and commitment to this task as her husband.

Last but not least, Mr Akram Zaki is a poet. Had he been a bad one, I would have said "let's hang him for his bad verses."

But what is the point in talking about poetry? These two gentlemen are as far from poetry as they are from good manners.

Analyst Predicts: 'Sharif's Days Numbered'

91AS1215D Lahore THE NATION in English 5 Jul 91
p 7

[Article by Salman Taseer: "The Ruling Coalition Has Run Out of Options"; italicized words as published]

[Text] As murders, dacoities and mayhem cut their bloody swathe across the land, the chances of Mian Nawaz Sharif and his rickety coalition surviving become increasingly doubtful. Someone had apparently advised Mian Sahib that in order to see off the Chief of Army Staff Mirza Aslam Beg it was imperative to railroad one "historic achievement" after another, no matter how ill advised and poorly planned, so as to create an impression of effective government to ensure no one in *khaki* will be tempted to move against his regime. At the same time that a coterie of hacks were kept busy extolling the achievements of the IJI [Islami Democratic Alliance] government and denigrating Mirza Aslam Beg and the role of the armed forces. All this would have been laudable if one could forget at the same time the plethora of statements issued over the years by Mian Sahib and most of the leadership of the IJI raising the political moves of the armed forces against the Peoples Party Government and begging the President at the slightest excuse to "exercise his Constitutional powers" which in the language of the layman reads "remove Benazir Bhutto and make Nawaz Sharif the Prime Minister."

Having been installed as Prime Minister with a massive majority in the National Assembly, the Senate and the Punjab Provincial Assembly, accompanied by accolades from the President and various other non- elected power-brokers, the golden boy from Punjab, if the same chorus line of hacks was to be believed was set for a long innings. At the same time a cottage industry (financed by the public sector with no chance of denationalisation) was set up with the primary objective of slandering the Peoples Party written into the Memorandum and Articles of Association. Mian Sahib was now the Managing Director of Pakistan, we were told and woe and shame

on those "defeated elements" who were clamouring for his ouster particularly by the same methods that Mian Sahib himself had used to get into power. The fact that these "defeated elements" had been rigged out of their rightful place in the legislature by an election which was a travesty of all norms of democratic conduct was also conveniently forgotten. Suddenly the boot was on the other foot and the Sharif brothers who all their political life and slunk into office through one back door or another were now the harbingers of civilian rule and custodians of liberalism.

If Mian Nawaz Sharif had modicum of political pre-science, he should have understood that in order to strengthen his own position he needed to strengthen the Opposition and come to a working arrangement with the Peoples party who, despite the rigged election were prepared to cooperate in order to avoid another Martial Law. Instead Mian Sahib chose the path of confrontation. His kitchen cabinet, consisting of retired bureaucrats, his brother and an odd assortment of intelligence types led by the notorious Brigadier Imtiaz "Billa" supervised from a distance we are told by the President himself, advised him to "snair the lion in its den." In order to put the Peoples Party on the defensive, Jam Sadiq was recruited to pursue a policy of terror and suppression against the political forces in Sindh. Democracy it seemed was only good for Islamabad as long it suited the IJI regime. Everywhere else it was business as usual. Once the Peoples Party was broken in Sindh, it was argued a more docile Punjab and Frontier could be effectively controlled through a combination of lucre and the old fashioned stick. The ghost of Machiavelli would have applauded all this except the backdrop for this drama was set in Pakistan in the twentieth century where the machinations of the Medici's clam are somewhat passe in the present scenario.

Ironically, it was in Punjab that the first thunderclap of the storm that has engulfed the IJI resounded in the unlikely form of the battle of Charing Cross between MPA's [Members of Provincial Assembly] of the ruling party and the Punjab Police. What happened is not as simplistic as it seems. The MPAs behaved only as they had been programmed to do over the years by the Sharif's who had all along encouraged than to flout all law and rules as long as they remained loyal to the brothers. In fact one MPA innocently remarked that if "Mian Sahib had been Chief Minister the IG [Inspector General] Punjab would have been publicly flogged." Imagine their surprise when suddenly they found their one time benefactor turning upon them with santomoniuous lectures on abiding by the law and chastising them for failing to set "an example." Because Mian Sahib had chosen to forget how the police was used to arrest political opponents in the Punjab, harass Makhdoom Altaf Hussain and burn the crops of the Makhdoom Alam Anwar or for that matter Sardar Nasrullah Dreshak, everyone else too was supposed to suffer from the same convenient amnesia. How can one blame the hapless MPA's for recalling those halycon days when

they were inundated with plots, loans, *tehsilderis* and recruitments in the provincial police for their relatives and much worse still made overlords of their local *thanas* where they could release or arrest whomsoever they pleased?

If the law and order situation in Pakistan has degenerated into the law of the jungle, Mian Nawaz Sharif has no one but himself to blame. He has publicly condoned the worst excesses of Jam Sadiq in Sindh giving him a seal of approval by repeatedly praising him for the remarkable job he has been doing. Persecuting the Peoples Party was Mian Nawaz Sharif's only priority regardless of the consequences which as they unfold have sounded the death knell of his own regime. In Punjab again he is solely responsible for the law and order or rather the absence of it. The cross murders between the Islami Jamiate Tulba and the various factions of the MSF [The Student union in Pakistan] all occurred under his aegis. As we have so often heard that he has been the longest serving Chief Minister in the history of Punjab. Since law and order is a provincial subject and from all accounts his favourite one as well he cannot escape responsibility by frantically changing officers around.

Brother Shabaz has been made head of the unconstitutional and generally loathed Crimes Control Committee whose sold purpose was to exercise *de-facto* control of the police service, add to the pervasive corruption by selling off "police *thanas*" to the highest bidder and tinker around with appointments and transfers of police officers in order that the Sharif brothers remained bosses of the province much to the chagrin of the present emasculated incumbent Ghulam Hyder Wyne.

Army intervention in Sindh in one guise or another is a foregone conclusion. The farcical by-election at Jacobabad has further exacerbated the brewing crisis. Once the genie is out of the bottle, it is unlikely that any one, particularly Nawaz Sharif, will be able to put it back. Unfortunately for him, if he had the large heartedness to accept *Mohtrama* Benazir Bhutto's offer of collaboration things might have been different. To her everlasting credit she never asked for a share in the government at the Centre or for that matter even in Sindh. Her only stipulation was that he drop the undemocratic and ridiculous charade of references and persecution of the Peoples Party. The most charitable interpretation of Mian Sahib's recalcitrance is that he is not the master of his own house in which case if he has a vestige of self respect he should resign. However, looking back at his record and the financial stakes he has built up resignation seems an unlikely prospect.

Realising that his days are numbered Mian Sahib has taken the bit between the teeth announcing with some braggadocio that "either it will be the dacoits or me." Since the dacoits, thanks to the efforts of his political allies in Karachi and across the hinterland, seem set for long innings, he will certainly have to eat his words in the not too distant future. While mayhem rules the land his much vaunted "industrial revolution" sounds like a

black comedy. At the same time his hurriedly cobbled together "historical achievements" have been unceremoniously dumped on the already overflowing dustbin of history as the people of Punjab have demonstrated that their priorities are law and order, price control and jobs where he has totally and utterly failed. Galloping inflation is destroying the economic base of the poorer and fixed income groups as a result of irresponsible deficit financing. Denationalisation has set industrial labour afire. The deregulation of the rupee has caused its collapse in the market setting off a disastrous speculating pushing our currency down to an all time low of Rs.[rupees] 24 to a dollar. Among this gloomy scenario Nawaz Sharif apologists still find it in their hearts to attack the Peoples Party period which in comparison to the present one seems almost like some far off Nirvana.

The acid test of Mian Sahib's leadership will come if he can still establish himself as a politician out of office and bereft of the financial and bureaucratic support of the state. So far he has never functioned except in office. In the 1988 elections, despite the fact that he was the sitting Chief Minister and helped himself in the process to crores of rupees of government funds, he took a severe beating in the seats he contested in Punjab other than just two constituencies. Finding fault with Benazir Bhutto who has always been fighting against the entire state machinery may prove more difficult once Mian Sahib is unseated and asked to contest without the accoutrements of the state apparatus. The reason why "defeated elements" no matter how flawed their judgment are asking for army intervention is an indication of the total suffocation of the democratic process and frustration as a result of the combined efforts of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif. Clearly the present set-up cannot continue. The longer the current chaos lasts the greater the chances of national disintegration. The only feasible way out from the present conundrum is the immediate setting up of a national government with free and fair elections within an agreed time schedule. This is the call of the hour and the collective demand of the people of Pakistan. The sands of time are slipping away leaving us with two clear alternatives: a new democratic order or the disintegration of Pakistan!

Sharif's Additional Power Questioned

91AS1288A Karachi DAWN in English 18 Jul 91 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmad: "More Power, Greater Risks"]

[Text] If the Prime Minister [PM] did not care to tell the nation during his telecast what kind of amendments to the Constitution he wanted to curb the rising lawlessness, he did not present the essential features of the amendments he sought even when he met the IJI [Islami Democratic Alliance] members of Parliament on Monday.

Instead he stressed that the amendment was inevitable, and rather than speaking broadly of foreign powers

promoting terrorism, he mentioned a single country but without naming it. He could quote the series of bomb explosions in trains as a proof, including Monday's bomb explosion in a train near Sheikhpura in which seven died and 40 were injured.

At Monday's meeting the government resorted to a clever ploy. Instead of presenting the official bill for amending the Constitution there was an alternate bill as well, prepared by Senate Chairman Waseem Sajjad. So the attention of the querrulous MNAs [Members of National Assembly] and Senators was divided by the two bills, and they sought significant amendments to both and got mixed up.

Although Mr. Sajjad is a member of the IJI and a good lawyer, why should he come up with a bill when he is the presiding officer of the Senate? If the bill comes before the Senate he can be accused of partisanship—favouring Senators who backed it and hindering those who opposed it. The Senate chairman should reduce his overt political role, including the temptation to undertake political missions abroad, as he is not the vice-president of the country in the manner the chairman of the U.S. Senate is.

What matters now is not the official bill or the semi-official bill of Mr Sajjad or the plethora of amendments proposed, but in what final shape the amendments are passed and to what extent the democratic character of the Constitution is altered and the Fundamental Rights abridged, and for how long?

The PM spoke of meeting the Opposition leaders and securing their consensus on the amendments and cooperation for combating the lawlessness in his TV address as well as when he addressed the IJI Parliamentary Party. Normally he should have met the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leaders first and come to an understanding on the amendments instead of obtaining the consensus of the IJI first and then confronting the Opposition with it and making only very marginal concessions.

But that has not been the style of Mr. Nawaz Sharif's leadership. He prefers to confront the people he negotiates with, a kind of *fait accompli* after seeking the approval of his party to do just what he chooses.

That is why he prefers to confront the National Assembly with various major ordinances promulgated immediately before it meets instead of coming up with regular bills, debating them and then passing them with the broad approval of the House. So about two dozen ordinances have been promulgated in the last six months. And four major ordinances for checking crimes through draconian measures were promulgated last week.

How long will the amendments investing exceptional authority in the hands of the government be effective? Following the clamour within the IJI for limiting the duration of the restrictive amendments Mr Shahbaz

Sharif was reported to have suggested three years, Prof. Khurshid Ahmad 18 months and Mr Waseem Sajjad one year.

The fact is that if the proposed draconian measures as contained in the various Ordinances do not improve the situation within a year, instead of going on pursuing the same course ineffectively or counter-productively, other means will have to be devised. In fact, the Parliament should be taken into confidence about the outcome of the official measures from time to time, the situation reviewed and new remedies devised.

Didn't Jam Sadiq Ali say he would control the situation within three months when he became the caretaker Chief Minister or quit? If he has failed in his endeavours it is because he went about it the wrong way and instead of winning more friends in the interior of Sindh he created more enemies. His absolute reliance on Islamabad and Azizabad has not paid him the dividends he sought, but has enabled him to continue in office despite waves of rumours about his exit.

If the amendments to the Constitution do not produce positive results within a year from now they may have to be abandoned and other effective methods of a political kind tried. If they did produce positive results, they could be extended for six months or so if the Parliament is convinced of the need for it. The duration of the amendments should be determined by the Parliament and not by the government which would always move more powers.

Among those opposed to the amendments are two former Prime Ministers. Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, whose lands are under occupation of dacoits and Mr. Junejo who prefers declaration of a state of Emergency in the dacoit-infested areas to amending the Constitution and abridging Fundamental Rights.

It has been said the government preferred amending Article 236 and making an addition to it, to having recourse to Article 245 which would result in calling on the army to undertake the task of suppressing the lawless elements. But even now the army can be called in to assist the civil forces if the latter found a situation too much to cope with. What is happening is that while the situation in the country is bad, the rulers are trying to play around with the various articles of the Constitution, changing the rules of the game and trying some very tough methods where tough measures have largely failed despite the number of dacoits killed in Sindh and far more arrested.

The fears in the country in regard to the manner the amendments to the Constitution, particularly the abridgement of the fundamental rights and the jurisdiction the High Courts and the Supreme Court, and even the Shariat Court, are as widespread as they are genuine. And they do not come from the Opposition alone. While all parties in the country want an end to lawlessness, three of the parties within the IJI, the Jamaat-i-Islami,

Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam and the National Peoples Party of Mr Jatoi are not for the amendments.

If the Opposition has dark fears at a time when Jam Sadiq Ali equates the PPP [Pakistan's People's Party]—his long time former party—with absolute treason and holds the Al-Zulfikar and the PPP itself responsible for most of the crimes and acts of terrorism, it is entirely justified. The Centre does not agree with Jam's view of the PPP or the manner he paints it bleeding red. Otherwise the PM would not have proposed talking to it on matters of national importance, including the amendments to the constitution. But that does not deter Jam Sadiq from pursuing his vehement course against the PPP with singular zeal.

The all-parties conference on Sindh held on Monday and 12-point resolution spotlight the extent to which the Jam stands isolated in Sindh politically. All the parties in Sindh except the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], which backs Jam absolutely, and the ANP [Awami National Party] attended the meeting. The PML [Pakistan Muslim League] abstained for technical reasons. The resolution called upon the government to give weight to the "substantial opinion of the Opposition" and take measures to make the people believe that justice would be done to everybody without any partiality. The resolution asserted there was no rule of law in Sindh "but dictatorship of one man whose administration had failed to maintain law and order."

What is amazing is the manner the ANP headed by Ajmal Khattak has been endorsing everything the government does without having its ministers at the Centre. Whether it be in the matter of backing the Shariat Bill, amendments to the constitution or backing Jam's role in Sindh, it has acted utterly contrary to its past policies or pronouncements. And in contrast to that the Jamaat-i-Islami, which has been a close ally of Mr Nawaz Sharif, is distancing itself from his government. The tight alliance between the PML and the MQM is not the only reason for that.

If there are serious misgivings in regard to the manner the government may use the larger powers acquired through amending the Constitution, the partisan political role of the government is the principal reason. Accountability has been used and references filed in courts on a very partisan basis with no references filed against any non-PPP minister, MNA or MPA [Members of Provincial Assembly]. It could not be claimed that the Punjab government under Nawaz Sharif had utterly unblemished politicians and the situation in Balochistan was any better.

Look at the manner every by-election in the country is becoming extremely controversial with charges of rigging by the government or the ruling party very loud and clear. The recent Jacobabad by-election which led to the arrest of a Balochistan Minister and later apology to him by Jam Sadiq was an explosive example.

Look at the manner the elections were conducted and contested in Azad Kashmir, which finally resulted in Prime Minister Mumtaz Rathore repudiating the results, his eventual dismissal and arrest. Political stability should mean less explosive political controversies and not far more and too frequently.

Partisanship has reached its peak in Sindh where Jam Sadiq in season and out equates PPP with treason and is too ready to attribute all the crimes in the province to it. Thousands of PPP backers have been arrested on criminal charges, including the former Chief Minister Qaim Ali Shah, and more arrests may follow the amendment to the Constitution.

A basic question asked now is: Will there be uniformity and impartiality in disarming all the elements in Sindh after July 31? Will all the armed groups in the cities too be disarmed? The all parties conference on Monday called for immediate demolition of all the torture cells in Karachi, Hyderabad and other areas of Sindh. Will they be?

Jam Sadiq says that Afarq Khan and Aamer Khan will be arrested as they had been charged with abduction and possessing illicit arms. But will he activate all the major cases filed in the province and proceed against all the accused with uniform severity and speed?

The fear is not only that the enlarged powers of the government may be misused politically but also the officials, particularly the police may misuse them for their own gains. Look at the number of police officials and cops who take to crime. Sometimes the worse offenders are the retired cops and sons of police officers retired or serving.

A group of the Hyderabad CIA [Crime Investigation Agency] has been held responsible for kidnapping a person for ransom by the Additional Sessions Judge who has ordered the magistrate to proceed with the case. Instances of police officers driving stolen cars and cops driving stolen motor cycles are galore in the city.

How does the ordinary citizen and victim of police excess primarily to extract large sums, obtain protection against such abuses when his fundamental rights are abridged and the jurisdiction of the superior courts curtailed?

The PM mentioned the case of the 13 members of a family butchered in Islampura and six of another family done to death in a similarly ghastly manner in the Punjab as one of the reasons why he wants larger powers. In both the tragedies, it was not the law that failed but the law enforcing agencies—the police and the intelligence agencies to whom the PM gave 72 hours notice ineffectually to produce the culprits.

Most of the time it is not the law that has failed or was found wanting but the rulers, the officials, particularly the police and the intelligence agencies. Laws, like the

Constitution, have been abused more than used well in Pakistan, with the evident appalling results.

Move Toward Authoritarianism

91AS1288B Karachi DAWN in English 16 Jul 91 p 11

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "PM's Case for More Powers"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] One has opted to say 'no', although one had intended to say 'No and Yes also'. It is a question of values and assigning the importance among what may appear to be good things. Prime Minister [PM] Nawaz Sharif's July 13 address was extraordinarily devoid of specifics of what he really intended doing on a subject of such an overriding importance as amending the constitution. That ambiguity is not calculated to diminish the confusion that abounds. What made up one's mind into saying a straight 'no', despite agreeing, with the PM's many propositions, was the drift of his thinking and some of the formulations he used.

First, the things that are right. His overriding concern is fighting terrorism. Who can disagree with that? After what has happened in this country, the importance of fighting crime and promoting civilised methods of dealing with one another need no underlining. That the PM assigns this the highest importance shows how bad the law and order situation really has become. He is certainly right to regard this as the primary task of the government, although it is an elementary verity of administration.

Mr Nawaz Sharif's announcing that there will be no national government falls in the same category. Why should there be one? After all there was a general election only eight months ago. It returned a clear majority for the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI); it has two thirds majority in the National Assembly. There is no invasion or internal revolt. No doubt, law and order in Sindh province is extremely bad. And also, the ethnic divide in the province is deep and threatening; it is an extremely serious, indeed portentous, matter. But how will a national government tackle these questions that the Nawaz Sharif Government cannot?

Mian Sahib's arguments against inducting into his government those who had lost the elections, often badly, cannot be refuted. It is true that the Opposition did complain, and continues to protest, about rigging by the caretakers. That raises difficult questions. It threatens to publish a white paper on the malpractices; indeed, some points of it had already been made public. Much of it amounts to general accusations and observations, some of which may or may not be either true or specifically aimed against a particular Opposition party. But more on it.

Mr Nawaz Sharif should get his full five years in office. The accusation he had made against certain politicians that they tend, or want, to cut political corners in getting into office through, or piggyback on the military is not

false. It is also a serious allegation. But, what is more, it rings true in the ears of most Pakistanis.

Whether or not it is true that all, or most, PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] of parties actually welcomed, if not colluded with, Gen Zia during 1977 agitation against rigging, it is true that the net effect of a raging and tearing campaign in streets in this country has repeatedly been a General executing a putsch and cheating everybody. Does that mean there should be no popular agitation? No, but deep thought is required before plunging into one and a consensus needs to be worked out about how and why people have been defrauded of the fruits of their labours so many times.

It is also true that conspiracies against elected governments start as soon as they take office and continue until it meets a sorry end. This speaks of the underdevelopment of this country's politics and the characteristics of our politicians who are seldom tested and tempered in the crucible of long years of popular work at grassroots level and through local agitations on local development or civic or civil rights issues. They are often feudals who want to ride into Assemblies on the basis of money and family influence.

The situation is bad and there is no solution except when politics become purified through experience of democratic politics and repeated elections. These would develop mechanisms through which to make conspiracies useless and ineffective. But democratic minded intelligentsia should be able to make the life of conspirators (always with the military) hard.

Irrespective of the intrinsic preferability of the IJI government, veiled invitations to freebooters to take over need to be exposed and opposed. Any elected government is better than the best dictatorial regime, even if some sharif men may be appointed ministers in it. That point needs being hammered home. 'Baseless rumours' by dejected politicians come under the same category. On all these counts Mr Nawaz Sharif is right and would have the support of all right-thinking people.

Let us now see why we should all be on our guard and warn Mr Sharif that he is on a slippery slope. His trend of thought is dangerous; its direction is towards authoritarianism. One will tackle him on two counts. After saying all the right things about how his first priority now is to re-establishing the rule of law, he goes on to proclaim that he needs more legal and constitutional powers. Why? Does the Constitution or the Penal Code or Cr. P.C. prevent him from pursuing the murderer or the dacoit? What prevents his administration (and here one includes Jam Sadiq Ali's outfit in it) in counteracting the nefarious influence of patharidars in Sindh or their equivalents elsewhere?

Obviously he is hankering after the power of declaring State of Emergency—or at least suspending fundamental rights' enforcibility through courts. Indeed one can narrow it down to what might be in his mind. It is giving police the power to arrest without warrant and to prevent

high courts from issuing writs of producing the body of the person incarcerated in court.

The government wants to keep anyone in custody more or less indefinitely. This is the mentality of the administrators trained in colonial methods and possessing same colonial mind-set who advise politicians like Mian Sahib. It is the citizenship rights given to Tom, Dick and Harry that is hard to swallow by this gentry. As a corollary, their loud concern for cheap and speedy justice is heard everyday. They wax eloquent over tardy procedures of our courts, on the one side, and after every outrageous crime that hits headlines they begin demanding hanging at the nearest lamp post, on the other. Indeed, the sadistic glee with which they appear to anticipate the equivalents of public executions is instructive. It is also a warning. We need to guard against this mind-set.

Arguing on the basis of theoretical rights or precepts of democracy or ideals is useless. Let us take experienced facts. The country was ruled for long years under State of Emergency. How uplifting was the experience? Do they realise for how many years and under how many governments citizens' fundamental rights have remained suspended, and what have been the consequences?

Forget the 15 years of brutal Martial Laws. What about the Muslim League governments before 1958 that kept on the statute book the various security acts, permitting arrest without warrant and preventive detentions. Then Mr Bhutto's 'democratic' government too kept fundamental rights suspended under the same State of Emergency. Without putting too fine a point on it, the present situation in the country is the harvest of all those draconian measures for maintaining order in years gone by. We want no more of it. Period.

It is not the courts' business to do police's work for it. It is not courts' dilatoriness or their propensity to grant bails that creates law and order situations. Courts need to have all those powers, and more—to prevent the kind of joke that administration of justice has become in Afaq Shahid's case and God knows how many more citizens of Pakistan are rotting in jails who do not have an MNA's [Members of National Assembly] prominence to receive so much legal aid—to ensure that police and senior bureaucrats do not abuse their powers and positions to the detriment of citizens.

The point needs to be made with all the emphasis democrats can command that it is the administration's arbitrariness and wrongheadedness that create most problems. Sindh is an object lesson. It is the Jackboots of the military and high-handedness of One Unit administrators that need to be thanked for the gifts they have given us: bank hold-ups, kalashnikov culture, robberies, kidnappings for ransom and sniper shootings.

Remember the open divide-and-rule policy adopted by the Zia Martial Law in this province as a result of which we have had the Shia-Sunni riots, ethnic killings and all

the other splitting phenomena. Democracy with its fearless enjoyment of rights is what prevents poison in the body politic. No Mr Prime Minister, we do not need any abridging the fundamental rights; we need all the rights citizens can enjoy and society can afford.

Mr Nawaz Sharif wittingly or unwittingly is confounding the confusion. When he talks of amending the Constitution he ought to know that some people's minds will immediately think of what the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leadership continuously talks about: repealing the Eighth Amendment. Is he ready for it? He has asked for popular support to amend the Constitution without telling us what precisely does he want to amend.

Apart from the undesirable methodology, does he not realise that it can create all manner of misunderstandings and raise expectations among those of us who dislike the Eighth Amendment on straight democratic grounds, the non-fulfilment of which would cause a backlash against him. If he really means to do it, let him do so openly and courageously. People's support then will be an informed one and, by the same token, shall be so much stronger.

If he is going in for ending those parts of Presidential powers that are a Democles' sword over both National and Provincial Assemblies and all governments in addition to making the Presidency a power-centre of the last resort, he had better be open about it. He will get a lot of popular support. Aiming here and shooting there is not even a good tactic in a democratic set-up.

His own party may be a shackle on his feet. What is he going to do about it? Those who have had a look at the National Assembly when most of its seats are occupied say it is such a disheartening sight! So many smug-and-self-satisfied faces, all under one roof, are hard to find; they are the true stuff to be traded, though horses have reasons to complain about the evident incongruity of comparing them to feudals.

And, Mr Prime Minister, your references to the Press are a case in point of a mind-set that should have no place in democracy! If it is not the function of the Press or the media to cooperate with the government. The purpose of the government is to do what the people want it to do. The job of the Press is to see whether the government is doing its appointed job or not; whether it is or it is not cheating the people.

Functionally as well as in its aim the media are meant to tell the truth and hold up the mirror before the society—and government. No more and no less. All other do-good things are for social reformers or governments; the media should only inform the people as to what is going on. The government had better get off its back or head.

There is the loose thread one left hanging about the alleged rigging of elections in Oct 1990. There was also the recent Azad Kashmir election. There, too, rigging charges by the losers are still ringing in the ear. Some facts are clear enough. Our politicians, the variety to be

seen in all our Assemblies, are mostly feudals who depend upon money and administration to help them being elected.

No doubt proper parties and democratic politicians are also in the field. But they are so few and so poor; their representation in the Assemblies is so small. Then, the political tradition in this country has been a stunted growth.

Pakistan's problem, and it is a longer-term one, is to prevent the administration queering the pitch against the Opposition. But that is one side of the coin. The other side is the ignorance and vulnerability of so many voters to be influenced by offers of money, favours or pressure tactics.

There is no easy or short-term solution, really. It is for the opposition parties to do their political work at the grassroots on a permanent basis in educating voters. Only that will be the guarantee against rigging. In a politically-aware electorate it is impossible to rig any election; people and parties would prevent it.

In terms of the 1990 election, the contrast with 1977 is telltale. Not that the writer asserts that there was no rigging. By no means. But the Opposition boycotted the rest of the election on the first day and continued it when the government convened the Assemblies. The force of popular agitation killed those impugned assemblies. When the Opposition chose to sit in the Assemblies they question in 1990 it obviously compromised its own claims. It is useless to say that look at the Nawaz Sharif government: its weakness and being on the defensive when it has a two-third majority shows its bad conscience. The Opposition says look at MNAs and MPAs! They do not take themselves seriously; which is why there are no quorums. These are largely debating points. MNAs used to be only a shade less non-serious in earlier times. Their general type is the same: they are after bureaucracy asking for favours.

There is no point now in complaining about a rigging that the PPP could not prevent and after sitting in the same Assembly for so many sessions. There is no alternative to forgetting that particular election. We should think of preventing any rigging in future—and force this government to stick to the democratic path and methodology. It shows tendencies to stray. Meanwhile, let Mr Nawaz Sharif rule on for full five years!

Could Lead to 'Witch-Hunt'

91AS1288C Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 12 Jul 91 p 10

[Editorial: "Will the Laws Lead to Witch-Hunt"]

[Text] The IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government has pushed through a number of ordinances waiving some aspects of the fundamental rights in order to get a grip on the law and order situation in the country. People have started viewing these ordinances

with a fear akin to their fear of the terrorists because IJI leaders have been issuing carelessly worded statements about whom they suspect to be involved in terrorism. Federal Information Adviser Sheikh Rashid Ahmad, among others, has been dropping hints that the government would start hunting the Al-Zulfikar. He is said to have even set up a 'specialist' desk in his ministry to carry out the witch-hunt. After the Federal Petroleum Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali said the cabinet had not okayed the Al-Zulfikar witch-hunt, Sheikh Rashid has rebutted him, insisting that the minutes of the cabinet meeting did contain the draconian sanction.

If the government mixes its political feud with law and order, the ordinances will quickly assume a draconian character. Citizens are already cowering before the vision of house-searches without warrant that will exempt the IJI-related 'influentials'. Given the powers, the law-enforcing agencies will unearth all sorts of anti-state and anti-religious matter to confound the original thrust against terrorists. Already the police are not letting go of the 'sinners' because catching them is safe and brings in the booty of bribes. In fact, crime has increased after the police turned away from the armed criminal and started concentrating on the 'sinner'. Now the 'discovery' of weapons will bring in more bribes. And in the whole process, the IJI politicians will manage to wipe out the Al-Zulfikar. These doubts are growing because the laws were not debated in the parliament to provide against their political abuse. Given the draconian aspects of the ordinances, the government should go back to the parliament and take the views of the elected representatives.

Former Sharif Aide Admits Rigging Elections

91AS1398E Lahore *THE NATION* in English 4 Aug 91
p 4

[Article by Maiana Baabar: "I Was Part of Rigging Cell in 90 Elections: Navid Malik"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad—Mr Navid Malik, the former Political Adviser of Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif, confessed before the media that he was part of the rigging cell which was set up in the '90 elections, and today he was ready to face trial under the law.

'I took part in the rigging as I was ordered to coordinate with all the District Commissioners. I accepted these orders thinking that after winning the elections, the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] would serve the country.' Mr Malik who had been pressurised by the high and mighty of the land on Friday night was reported to have spent the night in a 'safehouse' of a certain agency who escorted him to a five-star hotel for the confession.

Mr Malik denied that he had any links with the Army or that any agency was supporting him. "They tried to pressurise my father into browbeating me but it is not my style to talk to Nawaz Sharif or anyone else."

One journalist who was with Mr Malik on Thursday night said that he himself picked the phone at the place where the former Adviser was staying and the Prime Minister's brother, Shahbaz Sharif, was on the line. Mr Malik refused to speak to him, the journalist revealed. It was a bitter Malik who said, "I have groomed Nawaz Sharif to be a Prime Minister but he has turned out to be merely a shopkeeper."

Revealing the details behind the alleged massive rigging during the '90 elections, Mr Malik said that actually two centres to monitor the election results were set up. One was in Lahore and the other in Islamabad. "The centre in Islamabad was located in the Secretariat which was being run by both retired and serving bureaucrats. The administration was ordered to stuff the ballot boxes. Mr Malik said that the estimates projected by various intelligence agencies of Federal and Provincial Governments gave 87 seats to the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] and 60 seats to IJI and the rest to other various political parties.

"These reports had upset the IJI leadership and three days before the general elections, the final decision was taken to confine the PDA victory in only 45 constituencies. Mr Malik said that the election cell responsible to oversee and manipulate the election results were assigned this unholy task to be accomplished by extensively using the Government machinery to the lowest level.

When election results started pouring in even they did not strictly conform to the master plan. So accordingly, the election cell in many cases reversed and adjusted the results to bring them in conformity with the original plan before they were announced to the media.

"The MNAs [Members of National Assembly] were given 20,000 bogus votes while the MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] were given 10,000 votes," he revealed. Recalling the time of the election campaign, Mr Malik said that the rigging campaign was carried out from the Governor's House and the Chief Minister's House.

Explaining the mode of the rigging he said, "massive funds were given to the candidates and Government aircraft were misused. I myself travelled in these together with Nawaz Sharif and Mr Jatoi. Even the two munshis of the government, the Governor and the Chief Minister were involved."

When asked to comment why he was acting like "a rat aboard a sinking ship" and why he had kept silent for so long, Mr Malik replied that he wanted to give a chance to democracy and to the IJI Government to prove its credentials. "But it was after the 12th Amendment that I decided that Nawaz Sharif has exposed himself to be a traitor."

Mr Malik, who had his last meeting with Nawaz Sharif six weeks ago, said that he had told the Prime Minister to mend his ways and warned him that his 'cheap' Minister Mr Wyne would destroy him. When questioned as to

what had been promised to him for his anti-State role in the elections, the former Adviser said that he was offered any job of his choice which he refused. He said that his salary which he had earned in the past would go to the Muslim League fund and the Siachen Welfare Association. Mr Malik said that since he had worked closely with Nawaz Sharif, he knew his intellect. He said that he had advised Nawaz Sharif to let someone else be nominated as the Prime Minister while he stay in the Punjab. "I told him that this way the focus would be on someone else who would also bear the responsibility. But he did not listen to my advice and now he stands fully exposed.

Mr Malik revealed that it was also decided to keep certain important political leaders like Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Wali Khan, Maulana Fazlur Rehman, Asghar Khan, Malik Qasim and Maulana Noorani out.

"The name of Aitzaz Ahsan was also in the list but he was declared elected by a bureaucrat's mistake. Mr Malik hitting out at the present set-up said that in reality 154 MNAs were really patrons of crime.

Turning to the problems that the bureaucracy was facing, Mr Malik said that the Prime Minister does not bother to read files on national security for months. "He does not read newspapers but only listens to 'Khabarnama.'" He said that senior officials complained to me that something happens to the Prime Minister in the middle of a conversation. "I told him that he drifts off because he starts thinking of how to make money. He has no clue of statecraft."

Mr Malik called upon the government to stop creating hatred against the Armed Forces. "Do not create cracks in the only institution in the country which is working. Propaganda against the Armed Forces reflects badly on our national security. Hitting out at the IJI leadership, Mr Malik said, "at best the present government and the present Assembly are the product of massive rigging in the elections they can be rightly called the test-tube Government, the test-tube Assembly and the test-tube Prime Minister. He called upon the "test-tube Prime Minister" to tender his resignation in the larger national interest.

As the country is not being governed in accordance with the Constitution, and due to the incompetent government, the security of the country is threatened and the federation is in danger. When questioned whether he would in the future take part in a similar exercise to rig elections, Mr Malik replied, "I won't do it again. I have had enough."

Sharif, Bhutto Asked To Compromise

91AS1398D Lahore THE NATION in English 4 Aug 91
p 6

[Article by Izzat Majeed: "Rambling Thoughts of a Confused Citizen"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Political stability is essential for economic development. But while political stability is a necessary condition for economic growth, it is not a sufficient condition. For most of the Third World, political stability has been a misnomer for military dictatorships. So the Mengistus and Ziaul Haqs of the poor countries may have given an illusion of political stability but in the end the poor countries got neither political stability nor economic growth. Ethiopia is in shambles with the treasury looted and the people face perpetual famine and civil war.

Pakistan is not as bad as Ethiopia but there is no joy in the magnitude of the mess we are confronted with.

The argument that political stability is essential for economic development is a valid one. But it is crazy to jump to the next step and say that only military dictatorships provide political stability in the Third World. A whole breed of pro-dictatorship guns are cropping up yet again in Pakistan clamouring for direct or indirect military dictatorship. People who have never even read the Constitution are working up arguments for a constitutional role for the army in Pakistan. The tragedy here is that these people have never bothered to study and define the concept of political stability in the political and historical setting of Pakistan.

Korea, perhaps, is the only sample of a developing country in which a military dictatorship fostered economic growth. But as I and others have repeatedly argued in these columns, Korea was a peculiar case which cannot be repeated by making a carbon copy of its experience.

In Pakistan, political stability can never be achieved through army rule. Ten years of Ayub's dictatorship and ten years of Ziaul Haq's even worse dictatorship is proof enough of that. Unlike Korea, Pakistan is a multi-ethnic society whose army is predominantly Punjabi. Here we have the single most important reason why army rule can never succeed. Yugoslavia, India, USSR, Sri Lanka are all examples which show that multi-ethnic societies can only be ruled by a democratic system of political consensus and mutual give and take. If anyone wants another Bangladesh in Sindh, they simply have to impose another martial law.

Pakistan has run out of authoritarian solutions to political problems. The irony is that PM [Prime Minister] Nawaz Sharif does not seem to realise it. In many ways, he has put himself in a corner which is even more paralysed than the one Benazir Bhutto found herself in. Instead of using his (rigged or otherwise) mandate to sit down with Benazir to solve the political mess, especially in Sindh, he is climbing higher and higher atop his self-created ivory tower of isolation and ineptitude. It is no good saying that the President or the Army is not letting him govern. Benazir could say that with some reason, Nawaz Sharif cannot. The people thought that the immense majority commanded by the PM would give Pakistan at least five years of political stability so

that the country can set about the task of economic development earnestly. They now feel let down by the hamstrung personality of the new regime. This is exactly where the authoritarian forces in the country want Nawaz Sharif to be. A few more brutal slayings of the "Chhura Group" and we will see open calls for a fresh dictatorship.

The simple fact is that the Army has no business ruling the country through a mindless dictatorship. The example of Korea does not apply to Pakistan. But then neither does the example of Turkey. Turk Army, under the leadership of Kamal Attaturk, created modern, secular Turkey. The Pakistani army did not create Pakistan. Turkey, again, is a uni-ethnic society in which other nationalities do not constitute a significant chunk of the population as they do in Pakistan. It follows that only the people of Pakistan can really govern themselves. Each nationality constituting Pakistan must govern itself without any authoritarian imposition from any other nationality. The federation of Pakistan can and should have a national perspective (foreign policy, defence, currency, transportation, etc.) but the four provinces can no longer survive proxy rule from Islamabad. But this is another story although the time to narrate it has also come.

The "law and order" problem plaguing Pakistan is not just a law and order problem. It is a political problem and it can only be solved through a democratic process of give and take. The "law and order" problem is also an economic problem. Pakistan has a stagnant economy and one of the fastest rates of population growth in the world. More and more people with no jobs and a bleak future add up to a law and order problem. There are no schools. The content of our education is abysmal thanks to a decade-long journey to mediocrity under Zia's revision of school curriculum "The Energy Quotient of Jinns in Pakistan's Quest of Energy Self-sufficiency" is one of the learned papers presented at an international seminar during Zia's decade of education. No wonder the youth is out looking for Jinns to solve its economic problems.

The irony in our present state of national paralysis is that the present regime is the creation of the civil and military oligarchy. If now, the authoritarian masters of Islamabad cannot co-exist with a handpicked regime, what hope is there for even a rigged democratic system to be allowed to work in the country? Parliamentary democracy is ideally suited for multi-national societies like Pakistan. And yet we are hearing that the forthcoming coup will do away with parliamentary democracy and impose a presidential system which is more amenable to old-fashioned military dictatorship. But again, how will the Army rule without US aid and political support. Even the facade of a "national government" will fool no one.

A truly free election in 1990 would have given us a genuine "national" government. Such a result would perhaps have still given IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] the government, but PPP [Pakistan People's Party]

would also have come clear as a vigorous and credible opposition within the Parliament. The powers that engineered such comprehensive rigging of the people's vote in 1990 now do not know what to do with the "verdict." The massive mandate "given" to the present regime logically leads to a path that will increasingly challenge the whole foundation of the Eighth Amendment. In a system over-populated with puppets, some Pinnochios actually become real people and are then the basis of "in-house" rebellion. Hence, before these Pinnochios become real politicians and start to take the sacred trust given to them by the hopeless people seriously, the system must go. Hence all this talk about why the civil and military oligarchy is paralysing the government in every way it can to make possible its dismissal less shamefacedly.

Let us by way of a fairy tale so well known to the people of Pakistan assume that we have a coup tomorrow and our friendly general comes on TV to announce the birth of a fresh "operation fairplay." How will he go about untangling the mess started by Ziaul-Haq. Will he conquer Afghanistan. Sindh and Kashmir all at once in total defiance of common sense and the already established US-USSR consensus on these issues? If Sindh is a simple law and order problem then Yugoslavia is Disneyland and Sri Lanka a suburb of Geneva. Ultimately Sindh's mess will have to be solved through democratic consensus and political give and take. No amount of enforced stability will give Sindh real peace. The purely law and order aspects of this mess become transparent and solvable only in conjunction with political accommodation. Now, if the next dictator has the sense to do it then why can't we do it now without the inconvenience of a coup.

Sindh is just the most pressing problem. What we have is a whole ball of confusion in Pakistan. Will the next dictator find the resources to feed his army and develop the economy at the same time? He will not. Will the next dictator overhaul the laughable education sector to make possible the creation of a work force in tune with the demands of the next century? He will not. Will he have the courage to separate the mullah from the state? He will not. All he will give us is more platitudes and reactionary garbage as an ideology. So, in essence, the next fairy tale coup has failed even before it has been attempted.

This leaves us with Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. Unless these two political beings come together and pool in their strength, they are both doomed. Without PPP's support, Sindh will become a bigger and bigger mess. And without a compromise between these two forces, the bureaucratic military oligarchy will continue to rule in its own interest to the utter damnation of Pakistan. The trouble here is that Benazir Bhutto and the PPP stand persecuted as never before and they know that this persecution is more than just Nawaz Sharif's folly. And Nawaz Sharif knows that the moment he creates a political consensus with the PPP he will be thrown out sooner rather than later. Now this confused citizen can

only offer his humble advice to Nawaz Sharif and say that it is far better to have compromised with the largest political force in the country and lost, than not to have compromised at all.

Bhutto, PPP Demands Criticized

Bhutto 'Erratic'

91AS1395A Lahore *THE NATION* in English 7 Aug 91
p 6

[Text] The [Pakistan] Peoples Party [PPP] has now been out of power for one year. On August 6 last year, its 20-month stint in office had suddenly come to an end in the wake of Presidential intervention popularly termed as 'constitutional coup', and since then its political fortunes have undergone dramatic fluctuations. Following the dismissal of its government on charges of corruption and mismanagement, it could have redeemed its image by securing a fresh popular mandate, but the unkindest cut of all was the electoral debacle which added insult to injury. Notwithstanding its refusal to accept the October 1990 polls as fair and free, the PPP's decline as a mass organisation has been comprehensive. For the first time since it captured popular imagination in 1969-70 and emerged on the political scene as a formidable crowd-pulling and vote-catching outfit, it has been robbed of its claim as the single largest party in the country. Even if 'rigging' were to be accepted as an alibi for its shock defeat in the elections, there is no tenable explanation for its dismal performance in the Opposition.

The PPP could blame state 'repression and victimisation' for disarray in its ranks and indecision in its actions, but there is no way its leadership could escape responsibility for having messed up things when it ought to have given the party a clear sense of direction and a viable programme of action. That the PPP is suffering a crisis of credibility has been clearly brought home by Ms Bhutto's erratic style of functioning, not only in terms of her personal disposition but as also manifested in the policy perceptions. Her latest volte face is her willingness to work out a *modus vivendi* with President Ghulam Ishaq, the man who until recently was proclaimed by her as the 'villain of the piece' in the 'plot' to dislodge her from power and manipulate her defeat in the elections. And after having persistently made the claim that her party, being the single largest party, was the only one capable of offering a viable government, she has suddenly come to realise that no single party in the country was in a position to run the country alone. There are no permanent friends or enemies in politics, Benazir Bhutto said recently. Flexibility is indeed a virtue in politics, provided it does not smack of opportunism. Ms Bhutto appears to have opted for expedient politics, and seems to have become so desperate at her party's downhill slide that she is willing to play ball with the military top brass in order to stage a political comeback. Regardless of the success or failure of her new venture in terms of short-term gains, she may eventually find herself at such

logger-heads with her party's *raison d'être* that her constituents may refuse to recognise it as the party that they had nurtured over the years.

PPP Exaggerating

91AS1395B Karachi DAWN in English 6 Aug 91 p 11

[Text] It is too early to say whether the PDA People's Democratic Alliance] leaders have achieved the purpose they had in view in staging a countrywide token hunger strike. But surely they cannot complain that the government failed to take notice of the proceedings at the many hunger strikers' camps established at places chosen carefully for maximum demonstrative effect. The government had reason to show less anxiety than it actually did. On the whole the occasion passed off peacefully but in many places the police presence was massive even as the number of sympathisers who turned up at or near the camps as a gesture of solidarity was impressive.

Judging by what the PDA leaders have said on the occasion of the hunger strike, this is supposed to be the beginning of a process of shifting the focus of attention from Parliament to the political platform outside it and letting Opposition politics strike out on an agitational course. The choice of the Constitution Avenue in front of the Parliament building was symbolic and duly served notice of a change of Opposition emphasis from parliamentary striving to mass mobilisation for political action outside the representative institutions.

Of course Ms Bhutto was exaggerating when she claimed that the entire country "had been shaken to the roots because of the countrywide strike." But Sunday's proceedings can certainly be said to have made it possible for the Opposition leaders to test the water for any signs that the people are getting restive and therefore ready to support a campaign of defiance of authority. The technique is Gandhian at least in form if not in substance. It has often worked in South Asia. So from now until Ms Benazir Bhutto stages what is planned to be a great show of strength at Lahore's Mochi Gate on August 14 one has to keep one's fingers crossed.

The Opposition leaders have denounced the Government for a number of sins such as the passage of the 12th Amendment, large-scale arrests of political opponents, deposition of the "legitimate" government of Mr Mumtaz Rathore in Azad Kashmir, the programme of denationalisation and the sacking of Government employees. They have also cited an increase in unemployment, the price hike and the law-and-order situation as evidence of the government's failure.

The government has yet to complete its first year in power, and it cannot be said yet that it has been allowed sufficient time for the outworking of its plans and policies. But an Opposition's task includes highlighting a government's failures, big and small. In the present case the Opposition's attempt is to present an elaborate catalogue of alleged failures so that it can find out which

of these issues come in handy for drumming up support for the proposed extra-parliamentary political action.

However that may be, the government cannot be absolved from all blame for the Opposition's new urge to de-emphasise its parliamentary role and to prepare the people for "the democratic struggle" on the streets. The parliamentary blitzkrieg that characterised the passage of the 12th Amendment in record time meant giving the Opposition short shrift when the same result could have been achieved without doing violence to parliamentary proprieties. This has been the latest in a series of moves which have produced alienation.

The institution of accountability whose burden has been carried by only one party and the repressive methods adopted in the bid to contain the People's Party in Sindh, the latest example of these being the techniques used to induce large-scale defections from the Opposition's ranks, have laid the basis for the progressive polarisation that is capable eventually of harming democratic evolution.

The government has been showing signs that it is getting impatient with dissent voiced from within the ruling camp or expressed by the Press or by the parliamentary Opposition. Its increasing sensitivity to criticism is said to stem from its feeling or hunch that some of the opposition may have been emanating from within the Establishment itself.

Whether or not this feeling is justified, the growing allergy to criticism can hardly help either the government or democracy.

On the other hand the Opposition has begun to express reservations on the present Government's right to rule. It sometimes talks of replacing it with a national government or an interim government that will hold fresh elections. One also hears a demand that the President should order a dissolution and put in power a transitional government which should be given time to cleanse the Augean Stables of the body politic.

The Opposition on its part has shown little political imagination and its main component, the PPP, has been in a state of disarray. The Opposition has failed to use the forum of Parliament to give a sense of direction to the people and to offer alternative policies. For instance it has failed to enlighten the people on the best ways of handling financial and economic issues, including that of privatisation. An equally important failure is in the realm of foreign policy where the Opposition has shown an utter lack of ability to analyse the crucial issues facing the country and to advise the people on the options available.

There has been talk lately of the Opposition resigning en bloc from the legislatures. Though this will not endanger the constitutional existence of the Assemblies, it will certainly take away a lot from the political prestige and legitimacy which the representative institutions are supposed to command. Such a step will logically lead to a

summoning of the parliament of the street which will in turn invite ruthless repression from the powers that be.

Both sides must contemplate the situation dispassionately and retrace their steps before a showdown becomes unavoidable. The developing situation can lend itself to exploitation by the forces inimical to democracy. The Government and the Opposition both have a stake in giving democracy a fair chance, something it has not been given so far.

Lack Credibility

91AS1395C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
2 Aug 91 pp 6, 8

[Article by Zahid Ahmad Khan: "Height of Political Opportunism"]

[Text] The government of IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] is under fire from its foes and friends alike. However, the dangers to its stability from within its own rank and file are far more portentous than from any other side, i.e., PPP [Pakistan People's Party], the major political party opposed to IJI. On the one hand, its erstwhile supporters and stalwarts have started raising doubts over its credibility. Some have even gone to the extent of calling it an illegitimate government, for reasons only known to them. Leaders like Zahid Sarfraz have to all intents and purposes, set their sights at the IJI government.

It is very strange that when Zahid Sarfraz was the Interior Minister under the interim government, he was cocksure about everything that IJI was pursuing. The objections and allegations that he is now gleefully leveling against the present IJI government were dismissed by him then as merely a figment of the imagination of frustrated elements. Now he is out of power, and perhaps from the IJI too, for a considerable period of time. This is not to put forward the thesis that all is well with the present IJI government, or that leaders like Zahid Sarfraz are always wrong in their criticism of the government. What, however, is most untenable is the lambasting of the IJI government by those of its former supporters who standing alone may not be able to secure more than a few thousand votes even from their own constituencies. Is it merely to create more problems for the beleaguered IJI, so as to put advance premium on the advisability of any drastic action, that could land these disgruntled elements into some respectable political niche?

That is why the criticism of IJI's overall performance, from within its own ranks has gained in stridency during these last few months. One wonders if it was not there, lying dormant, when Nawz Sharif emerged as the undisputed leader of the IJI much to the dismay of some strong IJI contenders for the leadership of Alliance. Among certain respectable leaders of the IJI this opposition to Nawaz Sharif is perhaps reaching a point of no return. Whenever something unsavory happens, they straighten up, so to say, and demand free elections. It

was precisely these leaders who were asking everybody to allow IJI to complete its legal term.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, otherwise one of the most sedate politicians of Pakistan, has perhaps jettisoned his traditional cool-mindedness, to all intents and purposes. He is throwing down one gauntlet after another to the government, but much to his dismay, the IJI is avoiding to open too many, fronts simultaneously. The IJI government knows only too well, the deleterious effects this kind of brinkmanship under the auspices of Benazir Bhutto had on her shaky tenure, which while, failing to tackle even one issue, opened the Pandora's box of criticism against its policies—right or wrong.

National Government

Some of the IJI's supporters retort that since Mawabzada Nasrullah Khan is not an elected representative of the people of Pakistan, he has no right to criticise the government. This is just tantamount to proclaim, that the defeated politicians are ipso facto non-Pakistanis to the backbone. Some IJI supporters have even hinted that he being a septuagenarian, should keep himself to himself. This is the height of a sadistic attitude towards one of the most staunch former supporter of IJI and its policies.

The foible of national government is his brain-child. He believes in all self-complacent sincerity, that there is a crying need for a national government, for in his view, the IJI government is creating more problems than solving them. Hence, according to him, new elections are necessary. Although to-date neither he nor his like-minded politicians have even adumbrated as to what should be the nature and the composition of their proposed national government.

Does it mean that the elected leaders of the Opposition be included in the present government setup, now heavily protected by the IJI's stalwarts as their natural right after overwhelmingly winning the last general elections? If this is the basic thinking behind the national government, then according to the IJI, the composition of IJI's Federal and provincial governments makes these provincial and Federal governments a true national government, for only they have under their banner nearly all the major political components of our political parties, with the only exception of the PPP.

If, by national government, these leaders want that PPP should be included in the government, then it may be mentioned that presently, as never before, the PPP is in no conciliatory mood to come to terms with the present ruling leadership of the IJI. Moreover, the way PPP is handling the Rathore versus Centre controversy, there is little doubt that the PPP will be willing to forego its basic differences with the IJI for short-term gains. PPP stands to gain more by opposing the IJI than to mend its fences with it. Its alliance with the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] floundered, if only because PPP is essentially, inoperable in any kind of loose or tight alliance, for it is still the largest political party of Pakistan.

For the Pakistani nation, the whole idea of a national government was, and is inconceivable. Indeed to some it smacks of the utter hopelessness and frustration of the defeated politicians. Small wonder then, that the entire idea is slowly but steadily fizzling out. Soon it may be a thing of the past. It is very quaint that PPP did not espouse the idea of a national government. Obviously, it does not want to dally with an idea which might hedge it around with too many do's and don'ts in future, when it could be the ruling party.

The PPP

The PPP is passing through one of the most critical phases of its political existence. It has failed to beat back the Federal action against Rathore. The 12th Amendment zipped through the Parliament and the Senate without any serious and effective opposition from the PPP. However, it is not correct to contend that the tepid PPP opposition to the 12th Amendment was due to the delusion on its part, that the opposition from within the IJI's own ranks plus other splinter groups in the Parliament and the Senate would be a serious obstacle to the ruling party.

The PPP leader was in Europe during all the furore over the 12th Amendment. From there she consoled her workers with statements that they were about to hear something very good and propitious for the party and the nation. Now, the only heartening news for her party workers is that she is going to lead the PDA's country-wide protests against the 12th Amendment. The members of the PDA will go on hunger strike on the 4th of August. Although the PDA understands that the 12th Amendment is less drastic than the 8th Amendment, which actually cut short the PPP's tenure. One wonders what the PDA is going to achieve by this nationwide agitation against the 12th Amendment, passed by the elected representatives of both the Houses.

It appears that the top leadership of PPP were well aware that their opposition to the 12th Amendment in the National Assembly and Senate would be of no avail. Hence their opposition to the 12th Amendment in both the Houses was less stringent than it was expected. But it was not a face-saving device by the top PPP leadership as some over-enthusiastic of IJI members may surmise. Perhaps PPP has allowed the IJI to tank-roll the 12th Amendment in both the Houses, so that it could start agitation and cause some dent in the stonewalling by the IJI against its gadfly and lukewarm opponents. What lends further credence to this contention is the tepid opposition by the PPP in the beginning when the 12th Amendment was first thrown out as a feeler by the ruling party.

IJI Government

The government of IJI has emerged more powerful and resilient, at least in both the Houses after the passage of the 12th Amendment. However, it remains to be seen how the IJI utilises this garnered support to boost its

sagging support among the masses; for whom the IJI government has only solved some technically sophisticated problems and left the common man's trial and tribulations in the same rut. If the 12th Amendment is designed to forestall any protests and agitations against some of the blatant failures of the IJI government, then the nation is really heading towards another jousting by the political leaders, with no winners or losers.

Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi is also not seeing eye-to-eye with the policies of the IJI government. However, unlike the Nawabzada, he is still trying to patronise the IJI in the hope that in the event of any serious setback to the power and position of Nawaz Sharif as the Premier of Pakistan, he might be invited to fill the gap. The last minute amendments in the 12th Amendment which attenuated some of its harsh clauses, was some sort of a moral victory for these opposition groups within the IJI, to a major extent spearheaded by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Muhammad Khan Junejo. Yet the bulldozing of the said Amendment through the National Assembly and the Senate has saddled them with far more unsavory responsibilities of putting up a show of unity in the IJI. After all, they had no other choice than to be in the same boat with IJI.

Analyst Urges Change in Foreign Policy

91AS1100A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 May 91 p 3

[Article by Ishfaq Ahamed: "Time to Say, 'Good-bye America'"]

[Text] Have you forgotten that the weapons reserved for Pakistan were given to India during the 1962 war?

Supply of arms and ammunition to Pakistan was stopped during the 1965 India-Pakistan war and Pakistan was stabbed in the back to give birth to Bangladesh. Now that the Indian armies have lined up at Pakistan's border, the United States has stopped economic and military aid to Pakistan.

Is it not a national crisis that in such a serious situation our leaders are busy playing their musical chairs of power? The writers, intellectuals, and patriotic educators represent the conscience of the nation.

Has not Allah given us this golden opportunity to put our faith in our patriotic people and say good-bye to the United States and change to a simple life style, stop flagrant exhibition of wealth, and boycott foreign luxury goods totally? If you want to get our country out of the curse of interest [on loans] and the issue of new industrial loans, then spend a few moments a day, a few hours a week, and 1 day a month telling people in your sphere of influence to help make us be self-sufficient in every sphere of life, boycott foreign goods, and support the movement to say "Good bye America." This way this cry coming from a suffering heart becomes a proud voice of an awakened nation and not a cry in the wilderness.

Both these appeals are meaningful and very important and have risen from the segment of the society which considers the words as a source of mental and actual revolution and shows the people the way to prosperity without disturbing the peace. The group of intellectuals has arrived at a point where it is wondering if it took part in the freedom struggle just to get rid of the British clutches only to let the nation be a prey to Uncle Sam. Did it get rid of the slavery of the Pound just to accept rule of the Dollar? The Pakistan movement definitely was not aimed at this goal. However, the fact is that situations are pushing us toward this slavery.

World War II was fought outside of this sub-continent, but the human machinery needed to win this war was procured from this sub-continent. The Independence of India was not a reward for participating in this war. The truth is that the United Kingdom was not able to control its colonies. It accepted the demand for Pakistan by the Muslims, however, this division was implemented in such a way that this piece of land was badly sliced. Land was given to one country and the rivers to the other and the nation was forced into various crises in the very beginning of its existence. A large-scale program to rebuild the war-razed Europe was being implemented at that time. They did not wait to make Pakistan a beggar too, however, they also added the ingredient of human sympathy to it. The goal of this aid was to help our newborn nation suffering from hundreds of problems and financial crises stand on its own feet and develop a self-sufficient economy. Most of our leaders spent their time in office under the delusion that the United States was our ally and helping us in this time of need.

It is deplorable that World War II which is considered a milestone in establishing world peace also started a long cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both the United States and the Soviet Union want to make India their ally because of its size. Pandit Nehru's socialist tendencies pulled his country toward the Soviet Union and the United States extended its friendly hand to Pakistan. It formed SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] pacts to protect its interests and included Pakistan in them to protect it from the Soviet and Indian designs. However, the goal of having better relations with India was always an important part of the U.S. foreign policy. India has always taken advantage of this weakness of the United States. Thus, when India was fighting with China in 1962, the United States did not only give it weapons but also assured it that Pakistan would not be allowed to take any military action in Kashmir. The Soviet Union supported India over the Kashmir issue, but the United States remained cool about Pakistan's right to Kashmir. The United States refused to help Pakistan when the war between India and Pakistan broke out in 1965 because it did not want to upset India. The United States put extreme pressure on Pakistan when it tried to establish closer ties with China. Similarly, when India cut down Pakistan's right arm in 1971, the U.S. Naval fleet never left the open seas.

The above facts show that the United States has always practiced double standards as an ally. When it needs something, it gets full cooperation from Pakistan and benefits. However, when Pakistan has problems, the United States threatens to stop military aid, and demands such guarantees that are not acceptable to a self-respecting country. For example, Badpir near Peshawar was selected when the United States needed to spy on the Soviet Union; it used Pakistan's help when it wanted to improve its relations with China; and when the Soviet Union attacked Afghanistan, the United States got Pakistan's cooperation to counter it. However, whenever Pakistan was in need, the United States turned its back. We have already mentioned what happened in 1971. The United States stopped procurement of seven fighter planes in 1977. It has practiced this policy since then. Whenever the United States desires, it stops military and economic aid to Pakistan and the most useful excuses for this were that Pakistan was making the "Islamic bomb", the purpose of its nuclear program was to make weapons which were not permitted by the United States, and that Pakistan was practicing martial law regime instead of a democratic government.

The truth is that the United States put many obstacles in the 1978 reprocessing plant deal with France and aid to Pakistan was suspended in 1979. The Carter government provided India with nuclear fuel for its atomic plant during this period. There were rumors that the United States was trying to destroy the Kahuta Nuclear Center with the help of its allies. When Pakistan tried to obtain a nuclear plant from France in 1990, the United States opposed it very strongly and this opposition is still going on.

Despite this selfish and unipartite attitude of the United States, our leaders have always extended their hand toward it and always welcomed the aid which one of our former presidents has called "peanut grants." The U.S. interference in our internal affairs and policy-making has increased so much during the last few years that we have to ask the United States for every decision we make. One political leader has called the U.S. ambassador as the viceroy of Pakistan who ruled the country. The only source of power for one lady prime minister was the United States where a powerful lobby in the Congress was trying to protect her from harm. When she was dethroned and the U.S. ambassador was notified of it 2 hours earlier, the U.S. Senators raised a hue and cry over her dismissal and establishment of a new government. They said that there would not be any elections in the country and if there were any elections these would be unfair, that Benazir's party would not be allowed to participate, and that the path for more martial law was being paved. Thus, military and economic aid to Pakistan, which was to start in October that year, was suspended.

All these actions are the same as interfering in an independent nation's internal affairs. In spite of the fact that fair and just elections have taken place and no

martial law has been implemented, military and economic aid to Pakistan is still suspended. The people are happy that our president has announced protection of our national pride and independence. The prime minister has advised living simply and frugally. The nation is facing a serious crisis because of the rise in prices. The opposition views problems from a personal point of view instead of looking at it from a national perspective. This is a selfish attitude. Despite all this, if we continued the practice of depending on the U.S. aid and did not find other resources, we have no alternative but to live in apathy and disgrace. Therefore, the sooner we adopt the attitude of "good-bye America", the faster Pakistan will become self-reliant and we will be able to live like lions instead of jackals. However, it is imperative that the voice that instructs the nation does not stop at idle talk; instead it should make an example of living proudly, economically, and with simplicity.

Needed Reform Seen Thwarted by Foreign Aid

91AS1215G Lahore THE NATION in English 9 Jul 91
p 10

[Article by Altaf Hussain: "Aid Availability Delayed Pak Reforms, Says IBRD"]

[Text] The ready availability of aid to Pakistan, largely for political reasons, enabled it to postpone fiscal reforms, says the World Development Report 1991 published by the World Bank [IBRD].

According to the report, aid is sometimes turned on and off in response to the political and strategic agenda of a bilateral funding agency, making resource inflow unpredictable. This resource instability can result in interruptions in development programmes as in Egypt, India and Pakistan.

The report says that aid at times can replace domestic saving and inflows of trade, direct foreign investment and commercial capital as the main sources for investment and technology development. Several countries have allowed food aid to depress agricultural prices. They have also postponed critical investment in rural infrastructure and ignored the need to build agricultural institutions. Discussing factors responsible for development or under-development, the report says that sustainable development requires peace, war and its aftermath in the Middle East have cast a cloud of uncertainty over that region. Ethnic strife, civil wars and international conflicts as well as natural disasters continue to destroy the fragile base of development in many parts of the world. By conservative estimates, wars have been directly responsible for 20 million deaths since 1950. That includes more than 12 million deaths in the developing world from civil wars. Far and away, the most important cause of famine in the developing countries in recent years had been not inadequate agricultural outputs or poverty but military conflicts.

The report says that sustained development also depends on global conditions and especially on country policies.

Recently countries in Eastern Europe embarked on ambitious programmes of economic reforms. The Soviet Union grappled with difficulties of economic and political transformation. A number of developing countries initiate policy improvements similar to the earlier ones elsewhere.

On the transfer of technology, the report says that the international flow of technology has taken many forms such as foreign investment, foreign education, technical assistance, the licensing of patented processes, the transmission of knowledge through labour flows and exposure to foreign goods markets, and technology embodied in imports of capital, equipment and intermediate inputs. Policies to promote these flows include greater openness to investment and to trade in goods and services. Non-tariff barriers, which are specially distorting, need to be phased out and tariff reduced often substantially.

About macro-economic foundation, the report says that the stable macro-economic foundation is one of the most important public goods that governments can provide. Experience shows that when government expanding has expanded too far, the result has often been large deficits, excessive borrowing or monetary expansion and problem in the financial sector, which have been quickly followed by inflation, chronic overvaluation of currency and loss of export competitiveness. Excessive borrowing can also lead to domestic and external debt problem and to the crowding out of private investment. Restoring the confidence of the private sector is now a basic aspect of efforts to spur renewed growth and generate employment in several countries with a history of macro-economic instability.

Talking about the recent slow down in many industrial countries and renewed economic uncertainty, the report says that they have cast a cloud over the global prospects for development. The task is formidable. For many of the world's poorest countries decades of rapid growth will be required to make inroads in poverty. Priorities and constraints very widely across countries at different stages of development. Yet the opportunities for rapid development is greater today than at any time in history. International links, in the form of trade and inflows of information, investment and technology are stronger now than forty years ago. According to the report, to seize these opportunities the developing countries need to a) invest in people. Governments must spend more and more efficiently, on primary education, basic health care, nutrition and family planning. That requires shifts in spending priorities, greater efficiency and better targeting of expenditures and in some cases greater resource mobilisation. b) Improve the climate for investment. Government needs to intervene less in industrial and agricultural pricing to deregulate restrictions to entry and exit and to focus instead on ensuring adequate infrastructure and institutions. c) Open economies to international trade and investment. This calls for far fewer non-tariff restrictions on trade and investments, substantially lower tariffs and a decisive move away

from discretionary forms of control. d) Get macro-economic policy right. Macro-economic policy needs to ensure that fiscal deficits are low and inflation kept in check. Appropriate, market-based incentives for saving and investment are essential if domestic resource are to play their essential part in financing development.

About the direct foreign investment, the report says that flows of direct investment are likely to grow in response to policy reforms. They, however, will probably remain concentrated in globally integrated, middle-income countries with well-developed infrastructure. According to the report, in 1989, about 70 percent of direct foreign investment flows to developing countries came from Japan (18 percent), the United Kingdom (20 percent) and the United States (32 percent). Just twenty developing economies, mainly in Asia and Latin America, accounted for 90 percent of net flows between 1981 and 1990. The economic reconstruction of Eastern Europe and USSR will increase the competition for direct foreign investment. Nevertheless, for the smaller reforming developing countries even modest increase in direct foreign investment can have a measurable effect on growth.

Discussing conditions for success in trade reforms, the report says that in recent years a growing number of developing countries have embarked on programmes of trade policy reforms. The report says that difficulties to implement reforms and sustain them once introduced, liberalising countries outperformed the others. A study of developing countries in the 1980s found that, holding other factors, countries that implemented trade reforms experienced a higher annual increase in GDP [Gross Domestic Product] growth. Growth rates for reforming countries were higher even when other effects were taken into account, including external financing, changes in the terms of trade, movements in the real exchange rates and faster growth in the OECD countries. The unifying theme of the report is "a market-friendly approach to development" in which state and market complement rather than conflict with each other. According to the report compete one another in their appropriate spheres, the results can be spectacular. But when the two conflict, the results can be disastrous. The World Development Report 1991 assesses the interaction of state and market in four vital areas: investing in people, building competitive market, linking with the global economy and establishing a stable macro-economy. The report endorses greater and more efficient state activities in building the human and physical infrastructure, but not the extension of the state to direct participation in production. The report says that the challenge of development is daunting as nearly 90 percent of the increase in labour force over the next quarter century will be in the developing world while more than one million people will still live in grinding poverty.

In the final analysis, the report says the progress of development in the 1990s will depend on concerted action by the global community, including industrial and developing economies and external finance agencies.

Their joint task is to foster a global economic climate that promotes the exchange of goods, knowledge and capital. It is the particular responsibility of the developed countries and the finance agencies to a) defend and extend the liberal order of international trade established after 1945. b) Ease the flow of capital across borders. c) Pursue domestic economic policies that promote global saving and steady, non-inflationary growth. d) Support the transfer of technology. e) Protect the environment and conserve energy. As far as the developing countries are concerned the report says that the right strategy for developing countries, whether external conditions are supportive or not is to invest in people, including education health and population control.

Ethnic Tension in Politics Said Increasing

91AS1291A Karachi DAWN in English 15 Jul 91 p 7

[Article by Dr. Mohammad Waseem: "Main Political Currents"]

[Text] Politics in Pakistan has been crystallised into three main currents during the last decade and a half: 1) mainstream politics, characterised by passive federalism, individual pursuit of power and influence, and unacknowledged but widely practised separation between religion and politics; 2) ethnic politics, based on tribal, linguistic or ethnic identity; and 3) Islamic politics, devoted to establishment of divine law in Pakistan. Meanwhile class politics has disappeared from the scene. In operational terms, party politics has taken a deep plunge.

Punjab remains generally free of ethnic mode of politics. This is so because traditionally Punjab has been able to dominate the civil bureaucracy as well as the army. Politics of this province has been characterised by an abiding interest in the federation of Pakistan, which, however, has never emerged as an issue during elections or otherwise. Eighty percent of political activity in that province can be ascribed to the category of mainstream politics. It is federal in the sense that it is not ethnic. It is individualised to the extent that party politics has been relegated to a secondary position. It is based on non-religious sources of power such as money, biradri, caste and social influence. Yet it sells secular politics in the name of Islam.

However, there continue to be strong religious and sectarian currents in that province which reflect in the politics of various orthodox and fundamentalist parties. One can ascribe about 20 percent of political activity in Punjab to such groups, among them Jamaat-i-Islami [JI], JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam], JUP [Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan], TNFJ [Movement for the Promulgation of Islamic Law], Jamiat-e-Ahl-e-Hadith, Anjuman Sipah Sahaba and other mushroom parties. While Punjab has taken the lead in industrial and agricultural development as well as liberal education, the religious

current has continued to cast its shadows over local politics, although not necessarily on electoral politics as such.

Islamic current in Punjab politics derives from three sources. First, that province experienced three rival religious revivalist movements in the early years of 20th century, viz Hindu, Sikh and Muslim. This enhanced the religious identity of each of them. Second, transfer of power involved huge refugee influx from East Punjab which was characterised by a vicious circle of communal violence. Thirdly, the strident currents of class politics in the 1960s and 1970s led to an ideological reaction from the erstwhile Muslim League circles, which boosted the fortunes of Islamic parties. Later, Zia's Martial Law government expanded the social and political base of the latter in order to contain the movement for restoration of democracy.

In Sindh, the mainstream politics has shrunk to a mere 20 percent in recent years. Eighty percent of political space has been taken away by ethnic politics, based on two rival ethnic movements of Muhajirs and Sindhis. The idiom of Muhajir politics is self-consciously and assertively based on ethnicity. On the other hand, the Sindhi nationalist sentiment is largely diffused. It is reflected in the politics of many small Sindhi nationalist groups, while it has its main electoral expression through the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. Indeed, the PPP leadership along with certain Muslim League elements continue to represent the residual federalist sentiment, which is any way on the decline.

Since the main federalist current of the 1950s and 1960s has given way to the forceful ethnolinguistic currents of the 1970s and 1980s, the scope for inter-communal harmony has shrunk rapidly. The very fabric of provincial politics has been challenged by mutually exclusive ethnic currents of politics. Federalism is, however, not the only casualty. Islamic politics was also shown the exit, essentially by its own erstwhile adherents who had converted to ethnic politics represented by the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]. Politics of religion seems to have lost its base in Sindh, at least for the present.

In the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province], which experienced strong currents of ethnic politics in the 1940s and 1950s, mainstream politics has generally gained ground during the recent decades. In the transition from Pakhtun politics to mainstream politics, an element of Islamic politics made itself visible during the 1970s. During the 1980s, the Afghan war maintained the Islamic base of politics intact. On the other hand, it also boosted the Pakhtun identity in the perspective of large-scale migration of Pakhtuns from Afghanistan into Pakistan.

In the NWFP, mainstream politics has spread across 40 percent of the political landscape, while ethnic politics also carried 40 percent, with the rest of 20 percent, left for Islamic politics. In this way, that province has as much of ideological politics as Punjab, i.e., as a ratio of

total political activity. However, that province, unlike Sindh and Punjab with their two-category set-ups, has a pattern which incorporates three distinct categories of mainstream politics of influence, ethnic politics and Islamic politics.

Balochistan is similarly a province of confusing patterns. Here ethnic politics represents the strongest current, almost 60 percent of political activity. It includes the overt ethnic activity of such parties as JWP [Jamhoori Watan Party], PNP [Pakistan National Party], PMIP [expansion not given] and various small groups currently represented on both sides of the political spectrum. Even those elements which take a broader perspective in organisational terms, such as those from the Muslim League and the PPP, tend to adhere to tribal and ethnic loyalties at the level of local politics.

Islamic politics in Balochistan carries about one fifth of political space, as does mainstream politics. Both represent relatively minor currents at present. While the JUI managed to fill the vacuum in tribal and ethnic politics in the aftermath of military operation in that province, the latter has by and large reclaimed its lost territory. The mainstream politics of power and privilege, with little or no zeal for Baloch nationalism, constitutes a mere fifth of provincial politics in terms of activity and identity.

Altogether, mainstream politics is strongest in Punjab and weakest in Sindh. While Balochistan also reflects only 20 percent mainstream politics, it can still manage to take the initiative in its own hands and preside over a coalition of motley crowd of political elements belonging to all shades of political opinion. In contrast, Sindh presents a scene of two strong ethnic currents which disallow even a semblance of federalist politics presiding over the destiny of that province.

How much force can be ascribed to mainstream ethnic and Islamic currents of politics in the country as a whole? If we take into account the relevant factors of population and distributions of provincial seats in the National Assembly, the weightage can be arranged as follows:

Punjab 58.5% (including Islamabad)
Sindh 23%
NWFP 13%
Balochistan 5.5%

This pattern symbolises both the political significance of each province as reflected in the National Assembly and the capacity of each of them to influence the pattern of political activity at the national level.

In this scheme of things, mainstream politics retains 57.7 percent of political initiative, out of which Punjab alone is responsible for 46.8 percent, Sindh for 4.6 percent, NWFP for 5.2 percent and Balochistan for a mere 1.1 percent. In other words, the three provinces other than Punjab carry a far less share of mainstream politics than could be expected from their population ratio.

With 80 percent of ethnic politics in Sindh, 60 percent in Balochistan and 40 percent in NWFP, the current phase of Pakistan's politics can be considered one of ethnonationalism, at least outside Punjab. Together, ethnic politics is responsible for slightly more than a quarter of political activity in the country. It carries 26.9 percent of political space, out of which Sindh alone carries 18.4 percent, NWFP 5.2 percent and Balochistan 3.3 percent. The high tide of ethnicity in Sindh has reached alarming proportions. Various Martial Law governments immensely alienated Sindhis in the past. Similarly, Muhajir nationalism was born in reaction to expanding Punjabi domination, Sindhi nationalism and relative decline in the Muhajir influence over the state machinery.

Islamic politics carries 15.4 percent of the social space in a political sense. Again, Punjab tops the list with 11.7 percent, followed by NWFP's 2.6 percent and Balochistan's 1.1 percent. Most of the Islamic influence over politics of Pakistan has been exercised from Punjab, where Jamaat Islami and JUP have been active in the cities and countryside respectively. In the NWFP and Balochistan, the main vehicle of Islamic influence is the JUI which has wielded only a marginal influence in terms of national politics.

While the share of mainstream politics has remained somewhat static over the years, that of Islamic politics first increased and then decreased in recent years. The increase in ethnic politics, however, is phenomenal. This represents the greatest challenge to the state in Pakistan, whose enormous intellectual and political resources need to be re-allocated. In the same way, the character of the mainstream politics needs to be changed from within, so as to eliminate the sources of unimaginative approach to ethnic and Islamic currents of politics in the country.

Political Atmosphere Seen Degenerating

True Political Discourse Urged

91AS1383A Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jul 91 p 11

[Article by Dr. Mohammad Waseem: "Language of Political Discourse"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] One way to understand the politics of Pakistan is to look at the language of its political discourse. The press statements of political leaders generally bring out their hidden and not-so-hidden biases and prejudices. One can understand their attitudes towards the problems of political, administrative and economic life of Pakistan by analysing their political idiom. You are what you speak.

Look at the daily newspapers any morning. Take Friday, 26th July, 1991. Sardar Abdul Qayyum, the ex-president and prime minister-designate of Azad Kashmir has warned India that an attack on Pakistan would be considered an attack on the entire Muslim Ummah. There is no mention of who will consider it to be so. The experience of the wars of 1947-49, 1965 and 1971 does

not indicate any such consideration on the part of Islamic countries. Why did Sardar Qayyum consider it necessary to say something meaningless? Well, he thinks that he can get away with a routine reference to Indian bellicosity and pan-Islamic sentiment. While he has been deeply involved in the crude power game of Azad Kashmir for quite some time now, he maintains a steadfast ideological face buttressed by nationalist rhetoric. The motto is: talk ideology and pursue power.

Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi of JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] has issued a statement in order to dispel the impression that the 12th Constitutional Amendment would be used to victimise the opposition. Why should he say a thing contrary to the current practice in Sindh and elsewhere in Pakistan? Nor surprisingly, such practices are constantly accompanied by the denials of their existence. It seems that after his fall from the federal cabinet, Maulana Niazi is willing to oblige the IJI [Islami Democratic Alliance] leadership and say things which are least credible.

The PML [Pakistan Muslim League] president Mohammad Khan Junejo has made the revelation that the decline in the law and order situation of Sindh was due to foreign agents. The intellectual ingenuity of Mr. Junejo is self-evident. The obsessive repetition of this statement coming from a variety of political leaders over the last few decades has rendered it meaningless, even if it may be true. Mr. Junejo also informed the nation that the Muslim League will not be established in Azad Kashmir. His argument was that he Quaid-i-Azam had entered into an alliance with the Muslim Conference led by Choudhary Ghulam Abbas before the emergence of Pakistan. This is the most typical example of how politicians draw upon the Quaid-i-Azam for their own purposes, and use his name as an argument per se. The motto is: if you do not have a sound argument to support your action, use the name of Quaid-i-Azam.

Malik Qasim, the president of his own faction of the Muslim League, has demanded that the government officers responsible for arrest of the 'elected prime minister of Azad Kashmir' (Mr. Rathore) should be tried for treason. Why treason? In the vocabulary of Pakistani politics, treason seems to be a popular word. You may commit any crime or no crime at all, but you must be tried for treason, i.e. if you happen to be a political opponent. Malik Qasim also revealed that the whole episode of dismissal and arrest of Azad Kashmir's prime minister damaged the cause of Kashmir at national and international levels. Funny, isn't it? Kashmir's cause is damaged if Mr. Rathore holds on to power (IJI) or if he is removed (PDA [People's Democratic Alliance]), if a constitutional impasse is created through a judicial reference (IJI) or if it is not resolved very soon through a reference (PDA), if the PDA launches a movement against the federal government (IJI) or if the later tries to suppress this movement with force (PDA). The motto is: identify your political fortune with a grand cause and if you lose in the power game, bemoan the betrayal of that cause.

Punjab's Chief Minister, Mr. Ghulam Hyder Wyne has openly declared: prove political revenge and he is ready to be punished in public. Why talk of political revenge? Is it bad conscience? Why talk of public punishments? This is the new idiom which has gained currency in the IJI circles during the last few years. Public sentences seem to be their answer to the lack of potential for management of society. Mr. Wyne also castigated Benazir Bhutto for insulting the (split) blood of Kashmiri freedom fighters. How come? Apparently, he was reacting to her statement that, as a result of the treatment meted out to them during and after the elections in Azad Kashmir, the Kashmiris could now say that they wanted to join neither Pakistan nor India. Mr. Wyne attributed a certain position to Ms. Bhutto and then condemned that position. The motto is: put words in the other person's mouth and then distance yourself from that position as much as you can.

Mr. Wyne is smart. He said that he knew from where Benazir had brought these ideas and at whose bidding she was saying such things. In Pakistan, you cannot claim to be your own person. If you are in politics, then you are an agent either of America, Soviet Union, India or Afghanistan. You are an agent especially if you are in opposition. The motto is: cast aspersions on the integrity of your opponents.

Thirty-seven MNAs [Member of National Assembly] and MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly] of the MQM held a press conference in Lahore in which they condemned the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] "traitors" and their protectors. Why call political dissidents traitors, someone asked. "This is our style" was the answer. Will the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] similarly call its three MNAs traitors who voted in favour of the 12th Amendment, in contravention of its instructions? Is the IJI going to declare Mr. Zahid Sarfraz a traitor? Change of political loyalties is a fundamental right of citizens in democratic societies, at least as much as is the assumption of these loyalties in the form of affiliation with political organisations. It can certainly be considered unhealthy if it is widely practised, as has been the case in Pakistan. But it is no way criminal. It may be liable to public censure. But can the threats of reprisals, such as those displayed on the banners in Karachi and Hyderabad declaring death to traitors be condoned in a democratic society? Calling political dissidents traitors can, therefore, be considered a new addition to the political vocabulary of Pakistan. It is certainly not a good omen for the future of democracy in this country.

The MQM legislators' second contribution to the contemporary political idiom is the ominous word of conspiracy. Of course this word has been a constant referent of insecure governments and parties in the past. However, the MQM has developed it into a political philosophy of its own. When asked which conspiracies were they talking about, the MQM legislators balked over the question, and when pressed further, refused to answer. The motto is: if things go beyond the potential of the

organisation to deliver, then there must be a conspiracy. Tolerance for political differences is on the way out, it seems.

Finally, there is the concept of sacrifice. Its projected sacrificial instincts notwithstanding, the MQM leadership shares with its counterparts in the PPP, the Muslim League and various other parties a tendency to talk of its readiness to sacrifice *ad nauseum*. While the people of Pakistan are getting increasingly ambitious, materialistic and committed to exclusive ethnic and sectarian loyalties, sacrifice for the country at large remains an ill-defined concept. Why should the MQM take a special interest in this term and use it so regularly and assertively? The explanation lies in the perceived action of sacrifice. Here, an individual or a small group commits sacrifice in the name of a larger entity or a superior principle. The motto is: a migrant ethnic community tends to identify itself with the national destiny as an abstract principle and relates itself with it through the institution of sacrifice.

It is interesting to read a nation's mind-set through the political idiom used by its public activist. Pakistan's inherent political instability and internal divisions reflect a lack of logical, honest, pragmatic, transparent, dispassionate and meaningful political discourse. We must cultivate one.

Sharif Created Punjab Lawlessness

91AS1383B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 28 Jul 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Salman Taseer: "The Punjab Malaise"]

[Text] The current crisis in the administration of Punjab and breakdown of law and order is part of a continuing malaise created by the previous chief executive of the province Mian Nawaz Sharif. As numero uno installed with the blessings of both General Jilani and General Zia-ul-Haq he was endowed with an open mandate and almost total power to run Punjab as he wished. All the generals asked in return (to which he readily acquiesced) was that he should diligently carry on their policy of suppression of the democratic forces and the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] allowing him at the same time to develop his own political base as part of this rather sordid *quid pro quo*. When jealous rivals led by the Chowdhry brothers of Gujrat tried to disturb this comfortable equation they were visited with the wrath of General Zia-ul-Haq himself who ominously announced that Nawaz Sharif's killer was unassailable.

From then on there was no stopping Mian Sahib. He dipped into the treasure and resources of Punjab paying off rivals and purchasing support regardless of the longer term consequences on the politics and administration of the province. The upper limit of Rs.[rupees] one lakh on the discretionary fund of the chief minister was dispensed with and crores of rupees taken out in violation of all rules to pay off journalists to write flattering pieces about him, tehsildars and local notables for arranging

jalsas and much worse, local officials from the district administration and police were paid lump sums supposedly for charitable donations and expenses for which no accounting was ever done. In four years from 1986 to 1990 Mian Sahib helped himself to over Rs. 70 million from the chief minister's discretionary account with no questions asked. At the same time hundreds of plots were earmarked as political bribes from various municipal corporations all over the Punjab. Honest public servants were callously dealt with. The Secretary Finance Punjab, Farooq Haroon, was made an OSD [Officer on Special Duty] because he refused to condone the misallocation of flood relief funds towards the 1988 election campaign of IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] candidates. Slowly and surely an entire culture of corruption was introduced all over the province as largesse from the public exchequer was selectively distributed to solicit support. Corruption on such a scale had never been seen before and its impact on the independence and efficiency of the administration was devastating.

When the People's Party [PPP] formed the federal government in 1988 with Mian Nawaz Sharif positioned as chief minister of Punjab all norms of administrative procedures and rules were abandoned on the altar of confrontation. The Punjab administration was conceived as personal servants of Mian Sahib and his allies. That was the only acceptable yardstick and woe betode any government officer who tried to function objectively or without the welfare of his political masters at the forefront of his efforts. To enforce his fiat Mian Sahib went so far as to suspend the Public Service Commission in early 1989 to facilitate recruitment of his cronies but a few weeks later had to reverse this edict under bureaucratic and public outrage. Nevertheless dozens of civilian judges were recruited in violation of the Civil Service Condition of Service Rules, 1974. Thirty-one engineers recruited ad hoc in the irrigation department had their services regularised without even consulting the Public Service Commission. DSPs [deputy superintendent of police] in the police force were sanctioned the same powers as SPs [Superintendent of Police] only because they were provincial employees and it was assumed they owed their loyalties to Mian Sahib in the Punjab.

As a result of being caught red-handed and videotaped trying to bribe People's Party MNAs [Member of National Assembly] during the no-confidence motions tabled in November 1990, the notorious Brigadier Imtiaz "Billa" was dismissed from the ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence] and promptly hired by Mian Nawaz Sharif in the Punjab administration with a special budget of Rs.50 crore and a mandate to reorganise the Punjab Special Branch, along the lines of the ISI. As chief executive of Punjab Mian Sahib had decided that he wanted an independent intelligence network and since external intelligence is the responsibility of the federal government his operation was clearly directed against his internal opponents with its obvious ramifications upon the morale and loyalties of the Punjab administration. Other equally disruptive and arbitrary actions

added to the confusion in the Punjab administration. During the 1990 Azad Kashmir elections the deputy commissioner of Gujrat was transferred because he refused to help organise the rigging against the PP [Public Prosecutor] candidate Raja Basi Mohammad. Before that the SP Gujrat Mirza Shamsul Hassan, an upright and honest police officer, was transferred at the behest of the Chowdhry brothers because he too refused to oblige them and release criminals apprehended in a dacoity case amidst demonstrations by the citizens of Gujrat in his favour. Perhaps the first time public demonstrations were witnessed in Punjab in favour of a police officer.

Over eight years of Mian Sahib's tenure as chief minister as part of a deliberate campaign the Punjab administration was turned into a personal fiefdom. Police officers like Amanullah Khan were promoted out of turn to the rank of SP as a reward for their role in suppressing the 1986 MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] demonstrations. The present IG [Inspector General] Punjab Chowdhry Sardar at the instigation of the IJI government defied the federal government recall to the Centre and has now been rewarded against the backdrop of the Islampura murders where another Mian Nawaz Sharif acolyte Rana Maqbool, directly responsible for the disastrous law and order situation in Lahore, was inexplicably promoted to DIG [Deputy Inspector General].

Shifting around police officers after each calamity is mere cosmetics. The root of the problem is the administration "style" of the Sharif brothers during Mian Sahib's tenure and again during the chief ministership of Ghulam Haider Wyne where nothing has changed thanks to the ubiquitous shadow of brother Shahbaz. Appointments and decisions have been and still are ad hoc on their whims and political needs. Another example of this "style" of administration was the appointment of Nadeem Iqbal Pahat, son of Qayyum Pahat, as an inspector in the Punjab police as an inducement to his father to support the IJI candidate in the Lahore by-election in February 1990 and if that was not enough another son Afzal Azim Pahat was appointed naib tehsildar. During his days as chief minister Punjab, Mian Sahib gave the IJI MPAs an open license. Patwaris, tehsildars and other officials of the administration were handed out on a quota basis to Nawaz Sharif loyalists. Police "thanas" were given out as part of a political largesse with crime syndicated out to the local police bosses as a source of income. With this type of approach to recruitment it is no wonder that the Punjab administration has been reduced to a farce.

Imperative proof of the laissez faire approach of the Sharif brothers towards the administration and finances of the province is contained in the 1988-89 Auditor General's Report. Describing the situation as "financial chaos" the Auditor General identifies robbery, malfeasance and pilferage amounting to hundreds of crores of rupees. He terms the organisation and administration of the province "deteriorating and out of control" with

no effective check on the assets or the organisation of the Punjab government. The report is a massive indictment of the administrative style of the Sharif brothers which incidentally appears in contrast to the manner in which they run the burgeoning and prosperous Ittefaq Group.

Mian Nawaz Sharif has been the longest serving chief minister in the history of the province. As chief executive he cannot escape responsibility for the current crisis prevailing in Punjab as the present structure has been fashioned under his aegis. Blaming "Al-Zulfikar," RAW [Research and Analysis Wing of the Indian external intelligence agency?] or any other convenient scapegoat will sound increasingly pointless as the situation deteriorates further. No administration systematically corrupted over the years to serve as the personal organisation of a political family can be expected to function efficiently as a public service. Unless major surgery is performed Punjab will continue to bleed. And as the hemorrhage spreads, the political future of the Sharif brothers appears increasingly forlorn.

Politicians Disrespect Laws

91AS1383C Lahore THE NATION in English 30 Jul 91 p 7

[Article by Dr. Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti: "Why Crime Flourishes in Pakistan"]

[Text] The postponement of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's tour of Japan at the eleventh hour highlighted the seriousness of the law and order situation, as exemplified by a spate of robberies, kidnappings and murders, of which the most heinous were the virtual massacre of entire families in Lahore and Sheikhupura. A veritable shudder of insecurity and fear has tingled the spines of our citizens everywhere, with the populace in Lahore and Sheikhupura giving vent to its outrage through strikes and agitation. The Federal Cabinet is giving high priority to this problem, though basically the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order is that of the provincial governments. That was why the four Provincial Chief Ministers were invited to participate in the Emergency Cabinet Meeting on 1st July. Some major decisions were taken in that meeting, including that to hang dacoits and murders in public. Another significant step was the decision of revive the institution of chowkidari system in the big cities including Islamabad.

The Prime Minister's address to the nation on 14th July further addressed itself to the dimensions of the problem of restoring law and order and he had the Parliament summoned to take up his request for constitutional backing to emergency measures. It is only natural to try to understand how our country has reached such a pass in its affairs.

There have always been criminal elements in society who resort to illegal methods of earning a livelihood. Over recent years, two additional factors have come to the fore: the intensification of the consumer ethic, which has fostered a competition to acquire quick wealth and the

rapid increase in our population, that has led to unemployment, as well as competition for scarce job opportunities, the injection of large quantities of illicit arms has been an additional significant development, that was facilitated by the availability of sophisticated weapons on account of the crisis in Afghanistan. The fact that so many weapons were sold to the public, either by Afghan factions or other intermediaries, was also a reflection of the preoccupation with making money, regardless of considerations of right or wrong. The outbreak of ethnic violence, mainly in Sindh, contributed to the race for getting armed, and even political groups found it necessary or expedient to have their members equipped with weapons. That dacoities, murders and kidnappings increased was not surprising. What was a source of deep concern to the great majority of citizens, who are unarmed and depend upon the forces of law and order for their security was that these forces were either unable or disinclined to take effective action against the law breakers.

The consequences of the spread of violence, robbery and kidnapping are there for all to see. The average citizen feels insecure, and the quality of life, already low on account of widespread poverty, has further deteriorated. When crime flourishes, a vicious circle starts for society as a whole. With factories, shops and business executives targets for dacoits and kidnappers, industrial and commercial activity languishes. Karachi and Hyderabad have both suffered major setbacks, with the Nourabad Industrial Area virtually abandoned on account of the spate of violent crime. This results in unemployment which intensifies poverty, and drives more people to criminal activity.

There have existed certain traditional practices in various parts of the world where the feudal system flourishes, for the dominant class to utilise the state machinery to reinforce its power and privilege. During the period before the industrial revolution, the landlord class even in Europe would count on the backing of the forces of law and order to ensure obedience on the part of tenants and serfs. One of the worst examples was the system of serfdom in Czarist Russia, while oppression by the landlords with the help of a corrupt officialdom was one of the features of pre-revolutionary China. In Pakistan, the big landlords still seek the support of the police and the administration to keep their tenants in line. The tendency has got intensified with the coming of democracy, for the feudals who dominate our provincial and national legislatures utilise their position to get their own people inducted into the police, who then enter into a compact to serve their patrons, in return for protection against accountability for their own corruption. With the great majority of the populace in the villages illiterate and too poor to stand up to the feudals through recourse to law, we virtually have a situation in which the rich and the influential show scant respect for the rights of the common people. In many rural areas of the country, the elected representatives utilise their political clout to interfere with the running of the administration and

even tend to sell favours in postings and appointments. This creates an environment in which crime flourishes and justice and the rights of citizens take a back seat.

The recent incident in Lahore, in which some MPAs' [members of Provincial Assembly] who were apprehended by a police officer for violating certain laws, demanded not only his arrest for offending the "dignity of elected representatives" but also got the Inspector-General of Police transferred illustrated the situation whereby parliamentarians place their privileges above the law. Though the Prime Minister, and the Punjab Chief Minister both publicly reaffirmed that nobody was above the law, the fact remains that those who invest crores into elections expect to acquire the influence and patronage to reward those who are loyal to them, and to intimidate those against them. Of course they owe it to their constituents to voice their grievances and to help secure their rights. In this regard, the voters expect those whom they have elected to be the defenders of their interests. This function is performed by the elected representatives in all democratic systems. It is when those who should support the forces of law and order, and the principles of justice and fairplay begin to violate them in the interest of their privilege and power that the very democratic process becomes subverted. "With the current preoccupation with quick wealth, the trend is frequently for the elected representatives to extend their patronage to the very forces that are engaged in institutionalising crime and corruption."

"Getting things done" usually means bypassing laws and fairness, and the legislator who approaches any officials makes it plain that legality and merit have to be sacrificed if his wishes are to be accommodated. The traffic in favours has reached such a point that as it is the elected representatives who constitute the foundation of power. Only those officials get coveted appointments who are on the right side of the party in power. Those who fail to comply with the demands of influential politicians risk being transferred at short notice to inconvenient locations. Thus the impartiality and integrity even of senior officials are steadily undermined. Instead of having an impartial and professionally sound administration that carries out its duties and functions without fear or favour, we are tending to have the 'spoils' systems, whereby a major reshuffle is made in key departments and positions, after each election that brings about a change in the ruling party.

The Prime Minister has talked increasingly of the need to eradicate corruption, and particularly to improve the police both in this regard and to make it more effective. It is a sad reality that corruption in the police has reached such depths that the guardians of law and order are themselves often seen not only as protectors of crime but even as instigators and participants. Decent citizens dread having anything to do with the police because it invariably appears to mean greater expense and bother. On the other hand many a resourceful person finds it convenient to enter into an arrangement with the police

and then to flout the law with immunity. The commonest form of such a compact is between transporters, who pay a monthly bribe and can then operate defective vehicles, or violate traffic laws in every way. One hears of persons who are arrested for some crime, and then bribe their way out of police custody. There have been instances where dacoits and robbers were operating freely by paying a share of gains from each crime to the police. And there have been numerous cases where members of the police were themselves apprehended committing crimes.

Moves have been initiated time and again to introduce police reforms, and senior police officers maintain that all that is needed is to implement proposals already prepared with a great deal of deliberation and care. Among them is the proposal to introduce the system of police commissioners in major cities, who, with the active backing of the judiciary, can bring the crime rate down. Unfortunately successive governments have shown a lack of resolve to implement major restructuring and politicians appear to acquire a vested interest in a system which serves their ends. If all recruitment were on merit, and police officials were not subjected to pressures, there could be a major improvement in their performance. Regrettably, the criterion of social importance, specially in the rural areas, is to what extent a notable can influence the machinery of law and order to protect his interest. Police officials have learnt that even a First Information Report (FIR) should not be lodged on a crime before carefully weighing the various pressures likely to be involved. They may accommodate individuals on some cases, on the rest they are able to extract a price from both the victims and perpetrators of a crime.

A trial for a crime very often assumes the character of a drama stage-managed by the police, with an FIR tailored to the requirements of the parties with influence or money, with tutored witnesses, and consequently with a verdict that may very well go against the aggrieved party. The legal process is time consuming, and what with lawyer's fees and gratification to be paid to court officials even for copies of documents, it is the affluent party that has the edge. The litigation is ruinous for both parties, but the poorer party may end up paying the penalty since by the time a case is decided, the genuine witnesses will have long lost patience or persistence, and even the medical report, where involved, will have been "doctored" on the basis of money paid. Far too often, it is made to appear that the police can be influenced or bribed into determining the outcome of judicial process. Criminal elements, if they are backed by influence or money, may have little to fear. No wonder it looks to the common man that justice is not a simple matter of right or wrong, or of punishing the guilty. With lawyers charging heavy fees for each appearance, and with trials going on for years, the outcome may bear no relationship to reality, and usually favours the party with financial clout or influence. Feudal and influential elements in the rural areas are therefore able to maintain complete local

supremacy with the connivance of the police and the administration. They do not hesitate to use toughs to intimidate any recalcitrant tenants and even to exploit them, confident that they can get away with it.

Since the police officials can count on the support of elected representatives, whose interests they back to the hilt, they also give free rein to their own acquisitive instincts and proceed to enrich themselves at the expense of the populace. No matter what the genesis of a dispute or crime in their jurisdiction, both parties find themselves involved in a virtual competition to bribe the police. Again, the richer party may win the day, though political influence can enter the picture as well.

Taking all this into account, one can see that we have created an environment in which crime flourishes, with the guardians of law and order actively involved in either countenancing or encouraging the commission of crimes. The legal machinery, and the cumbersome administrative set-up makes it difficult to get speedy justice. It is not surprising that citizens have resorted increasingly to acquiring arms, legally or illegally to gain that sense of security which official agencies are not able to provide to them.

What can be done about a situation in which the incidence of violent crime is increasing while the ability or resolve of the government to carry out its most basic function, than of providing security and order, is progressively in doubt?

All three branches of the government have to give high priority to fighting crime, and to respond to the growing public dissatisfaction over this state of affairs.

The legislators, apart from enacting such new laws as may be considered necessary, have to set an example in respect for the laws already on the statute books, and not to abuse their position as many of them are doing. Instead of pressurising the officials for personal gains they should attach importance to their function as the elected representatives to watch over the effectiveness and fairness of the administration.

The judiciary has to be strengthened, and mobilised, both for dispensing justice quickly, and in acting as constraint on the excesses of the executive. In this context, the institution of the Mohtasib (or ombudsman) which has proved such a success in the federal government, should be established in all the provinces, since they have responsibility for all key sectors of the administration, notably law and order.

Lastly, the administrative set-up, and the police organisation in particular, need major reforms. The most important of these are that appointments should be on merit, and that the institutions and arrangements for accountability should be strengthened. Appeals to surrender illegal arms cannot succeed fully if people lack faith in the efficiency and fairness of the guardians of law and order.

Distrust Increasing

91AS1383D Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 20 Jul 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi: "Political Degeneration in Pakistan"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Pakistan's latest democratic experiment, initiated in 1988, engendered much hope that the country had finally reverted to the participatory political process which would put an end to periodic political breakdowns, authoritarian rule, and the military-bureaucratic domination of the political process. Almost three years later, the major symbols and institutional expressions of the democratic process are still functional, that is, the elected National and provincial assemblies, civilian governments at the federal level and in all four provinces, a reasonable freedom of expression and association as well as permission for overt political activity, although the balance is tilted in favour of the ruling party.

However, if one carefully scrutinises these institutions and processes, one is constrained to come to the conclusion that their performance has been far from satisfactory. These have neither promoted consensus in the polity nor consolidated themselves. There is a greater polarisation and uncertainty in the political system now than was the case in the past. What can be bigger evidence of uncertainty than the fact that despite a secure majority of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] in the National Assembly, one hears rumours about a possible change at the federal level. The chief minister of the Punjab who commands an overwhelming support in the provincial assembly suffers from an identity crisis. He has to assert that he is actually exercising powers as the provincial chief executive. Why should the governments with clear majorities in the legislatures face credibility crisis? Either these governments feel that their majority could slip out of their hands with a signal from the political forces outside of the parliament or the extraneous forces assert their constitutional and political clout vis-a-vis the civil/elected leadership and force the latter to retreat, creating the impression that these governments are not the masters of their own houses.

Other symptoms are equally disturbing: the elected representatives take little, if any, interest in law-making; the lack of quorum in the National and provincial assemblies has become a perennial problem; law and order situation in the whole country in general and Sindh in particular has deteriorated to such an extent as if the state is unable or unwilling to protest the life and property of its citizens, kidnapping for ransom, killing people in cold blood for no reason, and the stepped up violence has become the order of the day.

The distrust between the IJI government and the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] has increased over time, thereby making it difficult to build harmony and consensus in the polity. An attempt to bring the two together earlier this year fizzled out as the president was not prepared to give up his strident approach towards the

PDA, especially the Bhutto ladies. The chief minister of Sindh, Jam Sadiq Ali, who enjoys the blessings of the president, is employing the state machinery single-mindedly against the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] which is being dubbed as the sole source of all evil and trouble in Pakistan. Jam's role can be compared with Abdul Moneem Khan (governor, East Pakistan) who served Ayub Khan in the sixties and used all power at his disposal to crush the political dissidents who were labelled as anti-state and Indian agents. This accelerated political alienation in East Pakistan whose long range consequences are well-known. There is a need to take lesson from the East Pakistan experience. Political and economic problems cannot be solved by deploying brute force or by endeavouring to exclude the political adversaries from the political process.

Major factors: Such a state of affairs speaks of decay and degeneration of the democratic process. Three sets of factors explain this situation: historical legacy, constitutional dimensions, and the political constraints.

The military-bureaucratic elite have developed a taste for playing an active role in the decision-making process which is mostly at the expense of the political/civilian elite. Three martial laws; civilianisation of military rule in 1962 and 1985; the expansion of the corporate interest of the military; the induction of military personnel in civilian jobs/professions; and the emergence of senior military officers as a privileged "caste," with generally secure financial position, strong connections in the power hierarchy, and ownership of agricultural land and/or urban property, has developed strong stakes in the power configuration in the country. This has naturally put the civil/political elite at a clear disadvantage who cannot afford to totally alienate the military.

The experience of Junejo and Benazir is indicative of the constraints under which post-martial law regimes have to work and how deep are the stakes of the military elite in the political process. Nawaz Sharif also faces a dilemma: how a protege of the military should exercise his powers so that the military was not alienated as well as the regime's credibility as an autonomous power centre was not compromised?

The constitutional dimensions pertain to 8th Amendment which General Ziaul Haq extracted from the parliament elected on non-party basis. The president of Pakistan is bestowed with special powers which hamper the normal functioning of the prime minister [PM] and cabinet. A PM who exercises powers to the distaste of the president can find himself in difficulties. Two prime ministers were dismissed by the president during the last three years and the third is often subjected to pressures.

There are serious political constraints which make it difficult for the prime minister to provide an effective leadership. The quality of elected representatives appears to have declined and they lack sufficient political maturity and experience to run the democratic

institutions. A good number of them are second generation feudals or those who started their political career under the Zia martial law. They were groomed in the protected environment of martial law and did not fully appreciate the dictates and norms of competitive politics. They engage in high-flying rhetoric but are low on tolerance and sustained political dialogue with the adversaries. Many of them have not grown beyond local councillorship and are interested mainly in getting personal benefits or some facilities/development funds for their constituencies. A large number of them are not capable of functioning in a national framework or engaging in serious deliberations on law-making.

As the binding force is political convenience rather than political convictions and material benefits rather than any comprehensive ideological framework (except in rhetoric), no prime minister (or chief minister) can be sure of their support and he has to dish out material rewards, make transfers or appointment and distribute other goodies to keep them pacified. The absence of strong ideological and political commitment makes a larger number of parliamentarians vulnerable to the pressures of the military-bureaucratic elite and especially the president who not only has special constitutional powers but is also capable of exercising them if need be.

Additional problems of the prime minister stem from the failure to develop a relationship of trust with the PDA. The attempts to cultivate a working relationship with the PDA failed in the past. There are vested interests which flourish in the wake of confrontation between the IJI and the PDA. A natural gainer is the president because a divided political leadership provides him with greater opportunity to manipulate the political process. A political understanding between the IJI and the PDA can lead to the abolition of the 8th Amendment, thereby, weakening the position of the president. The latter is therefore not willing to withdraw references against the PPP leaders and backs Jam Sadiq Ali's strident approach towards the PPP; thus, making an understanding between the IJI and the PDA virtually impossible. Moreover, there are elements within the IJI that are opposed to any political understanding with the PPP.

Constitutional constraints and political limitations have compromised the ability of the Nawaz Sharif government to provide an effective leadership and contain the virtual breakdown of law and order in parts of the country. Various groups and individuals are operating above law; equipped with sophisticated weapons, enormous wealth and political connections, these elements have created their own 'fiefdoms.' These 'warlords' and 'mini-kings' strive to achieve their objectives in total disregard to the legal and judicial system. The law enforcing agencies appear helpless and directionless which has created a serious crisis of credibility for the government.

The difficulties of the present government should not be a cause of happiness for the PDA because the present crisis is so acute that if they form a government their

performance is not likely to be better. Neither, the IJI nor the PDA can deal with the present crisis single-handed. They will have to rise above their partisan outlooks and adopt a joint approach.

Any initiative in this direction has to come from the ruling IJI. In addition to seeking the support of the military-bureaucratic elite, the prime minister must build bridges of co-operation and friendship with his political adversaries. Without seeking an active co-operation of the PDA, especially the PPP, he cannot address himself to the current problems.

However, political accommodation cannot be promoted unless the PM makes a gesture of goodwill towards the adversaries. It should include, inter alia, withdrawal of the references and the appointment of a chief minister in Sindh who is not so blatantly hostile towards political adversaries. Can the prime minister convince the president and the establishment on these two counts is an open question? But after some time even this option may not be available.

Corruption Blamed for BCCI Failure

91AS1398F Lahore *THE NATION* in English 3 Aug 91
p 6

[Article by Anjum Ibrahim: "BCCI Fiasco"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) has been in the headline news in nearly every country of the world. Its links with international terrorism specifically with Abu Nidal credited with several hundred deaths, its drug money laundering operations for people like Noriega, and its internal corruption and incompetence spreading outwards to incorporate prominent politicians around the world, including high-level governmental bureaucrats, makes BCCI a scandal which will be remembered in the annals of banking history.

Strangely enough the Pakistani view is divergent. Part of the reason is that Agha Hassan Abedi, the Bank's chief, has Pakistani nationality. He had also spread his tentacles very effectively within Pakistan through his policy of hiring the children of prominent Pakistanis, i.e., those resident Pakistanis who wished to work abroad and could not do so due to their inability to procure working papers. BCCI was also known within the banking circles in Pakistan to hire people on the basis of nepotism. It is no wonder then that incompetence was one of the charges levied against the Bank. But of course one cannot dismiss all those working in the BCCI as incompetent. And there is a very real fear that with the closure of the Bank, a request made by the British government to the largest shareholder of the Bank namely the Emir of United Arab Emirates, many Pakistanis would become unemployed with little or no prospects for gaining employment within the banking system of any other country, including that of Pakistan. Thus the employees of BCCI, largely Pakistanis, would suffer greatly. This is despite the fact that Western experts believe that all the

charges levied against the BCCI were in effect due to the connivance of a very small number of the top level managers of the Bank and that the bulk of the employees were not taken into confidence.

The second reason for our government support to the BCCI top management in Pakistan is due to its covert help extended to, what is being termed as our ability to make a nuclear bomb. Perhaps this was the reason why our Prime Minister [PM] Nawaz Sharif actually visited the ex-BCCI chief Mr Abedi at his home in Karachi recently. Typically our PM ignored the fact that this issue is responsible for the cessation of US aid package to Pakistan and there is a real fear that the United States may prevail on the international community to withdraw aid from those countries involved in a nuclear programme. And as we are aware in Pakistan our economy will not be viable unless and until a certain minimum level of aid is incurred this year—a level which we have not really succeeded in procuring so far. Thus Mr Nawaz Sharif's hasty tacit support of Mr Abedi, evident after his visit, could have serious repercussions on the whole economy.

There is also support of the BCCI from those Pakistanis who believe that the Bank was serving the Muslim world and more to the point, taking money from the rich oil sheikhs and distributing it to the poor in the Third World in general and the Muslim countries in particular. This once again is considered a sham by the investigators of the Bank of England and supported by the fact that poor Asian depositors of the Bank are left without their savings and are clamouring for justice. And according to *THE SUNDAY TIMES*, dated 21 July: 'Intelligence agencies from several Western countries, including America and Israel, allegedly cooperated with the black network, which was a 1,500-member organisation run from BCCI's office in Karachi, Pakistan. Thus the Robin Hood tactics of taking from the rich to give to the poor was certainly not either the goal or the target of the BCCI. All that the expected demise of the Bank has done for Pakistan is to perhaps make it a pariah in the international community and it is indeed unfortunate that there is still official support for this Bank in the country.'

The State Bank of Pakistan has refused to shut down operations of the BCCI in Pakistan in spite of the request to do so by the British government. And the question we should be asking ourselves is, what can be its cost to us? First of course Britain gave us a loan amounting to 91.4 million dollars in fiscal year 1989-90 part of which is probably still in the pipeline which can be arrested. And secondly our exports of 7,224 million rupees to the United Kingdom (for July-March 1990-91) might be summarily stopped by the British government. It is also relevant to note that Pakistan registered a trade surplus with the United Kingdom in the year mentioned.

Whatever the failures of the BCCI which forced it to arrest all its operations in the West through legislation

nonetheless it is essential that some regulatory mechanism applicable to the banking system be in force for the protection of depositors. But can blame and total responsibility accrue to the Central Bank? Apparently not, according to THE ECONOMIST, which states: Like any bank regulator, the Bank of England cannot be expected to prevent fraud altogether. That would require a policeman in every office (and even they could be bribed). Nor can it ensure that, if massive fraud means that a bank must be closed, depositors will not lose some money.... That is why the Bank and its fellow regulators overseas, cannot be blamed merely for having closed BCCI. Once a bank has been shown to be insolvent—which, because of the fraud, this bank was—closure is the only fair way to treat the depositors. If depositors were merely warned, those who heard first would get all their cash out first, leaving much less for the poorly informed or the poorly connected. If the bank had been closed in July 1990 or July 1987, depositors would still have lost money, and would still be clamouring for compensation. Thus the question is the time limit that a regulatory body ought to take from suspicion of fraud to getting proof of the fraud to eventual closure of the bank.

The sequence of events for Pakistanis are as follows: a) 13 years ago the Bank of England blocked BCCI from expanding its branch network in the United Kingdom restricting it to a secondary bank status; b) Under the 1987 Banking Act, the Bank of England decided that BCCI was 'fit and proper'. The British media feels that bribes may have been responsible for this ruling; c) Senior BCCI officials were charged in 1988, for drug money laundering. The indicted officials claimed that top-level managers in BCCI knew and approved of such operations; d) In 1988, the Bank of England was worried about BCCI and started an international college of regulators where it cooperated with other countries in supervising the BCCI; e) The US Banking subcommittee learnt that BCCI "had an international reputation for capital flight, tax fraud, and money laundering that far exceeded the conduct charged in the Florida indictment; f) American authorities made requests to Price Waterhouse, a British accounting firm, for information on BCCI. Bank of England refused saying that under the 1987 Banking Act it could not reveal confidential information; g) In March 1990, Price Waterhouse revealed serious holes in the BCCI accounts but the BCCI still continued operations; h) In October the same year, an American lawyer read a report accusing BCCI of the "biggest fraud in history"; i) In June 1990, Vivian Ambrose, an employee of BCCI wrote a letter to Tone Benn alleging that the BCCI had 'widespread corruption'; j) August 1990, BCCI moved many of its account documents to Abu Dhabi; k) In January this year, inquiries were made by the Bank of England and BCCI operations shut down on July 5 this year in the United Kingdom.

This sequence of events brings some questions to mind, the foremost of which is as to why the State Bank of Pakistan has not closed down operations of BCCI in this

country. And is refusing to do so. Did the corruption associated with the Bank filter to our State Bank as well? And why are the depositors being ignored in this country?

Editorial Views Crisis in Sindh

91AS0889C Karachi AMN in Urdu 13 Apr 91 p 2

[Editorial: "Dangerous Criminal Wave in Sindh"]

[Text] The incidence of crime in Sindh, especially in Karachi, has increased suddenly. It appears that our police and other agencies charged with fighting crime are helpless against these criminals.

The seriousness of the criminal situation in Karachi can be estimated by the number of crimes committed here the other day. There were over a dozen incidents of looting in this city, more than half dozen vehicles were stolen at gun point, robbers stole expensive items from many houses, and a young man belonging to a prominent family was kidnapped along with his Honda Accord car in Gulshan Iqbal area. Later, this young man was found badly wounded in Maler area and his car was missing. An older businessman was abducted from his car near Hill Park. The kidnappers gave instruction to the driver as to how to pay the ransom and the amount to be paid and ran away. According to the information received from inner Sindh, there have been three robberies in Hyderabad during the past 24 hours. Half a dozen incidents of highway robberies, thefts, and fraud were reported from other areas. The robbers who had abducted the Japanese students have demanded release of their 22 associates in exchange for the Japanese hostages. They gave the ultimatum that if their associates were not released before Saturday midnight, they would take any action necessary.

The government took very strict measures recently and declared that it would meet its responsibilities in establishing law and order and protecting life and property of citizens. The government had instructed the police and the rangers to be alert and had also posted police at all shopping centers. However, all these measures proved to be futile as the rate of crime increased in the city.

We believe that the local administration, especially the I.G. of Sindh, should take notice of the situation in Sindh and make the administrator of each police precinct responsible for law and order in his jurisdiction and punish them for complacency as police seems to be involved in every incident.

Violence in Sindh Continues Unabated

Sindhis Urged To Kill Leaders

91AS1020A Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu
26 Apr 91 p 29

[Poem by Mehabub Saudi: "Become A Robber!"]

[Text] The following poem illustrates how the Urdu press in general and the Sindhi press in particular are freely busy corrupting the youth. This poem shows how the young are being advised to become robbers! They have neither fear of being arrested by the government, nor of being embarrassed, nor having any fear of God. They are not worried about these robbers one day robbing the poet and the editor. We appeal to the officials to do their duty in the name of God and to do something before it is too late.

Become A Robber

O, the persecuted and the helpless! There is no alternative left. This is not the time for being shy, gentle, or patient! Become a robber; become a robber!

Let us kill every merciless person, every despot, every headstrong dictator, every selfish and greedy leader, every vain and corrupt official, with a burst of bullets

Become a robber; become a robber!

Do not touch any woman. Do not touch a respectable person. Loot the wealth of the wicked. Control the terror raised by a despot. Help the persecuted!

Become a robber; become a robber!

Kill, die, wound and be wounded, but end atrocities. Roll the heads of Ghengiz and Halaku. Kill Nadir and other "heroes." The blood of the oppressed is calling you!

Become a robber; become a robber!

Do not kidnap a poet. Do not attack the old. Do not worry about any sinner. Die for respect, live with respect!

Become a robber; become a robber!

Controlled by 100 Gangs

91AS1020B Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 Apr 91 pp 1, 11

[Article: "100 Robber Gangs Active in Sindh"]

[Text] Karachi (Khursheed Abbasi)—According to reliable sources, about 200 persons are being held by robbers in the jungles of Sindh. The police have been unsuccessful in freeing them for the last five months. Between 1984 and 1990, at least 6,000 persons were kidnapped and later released after ransoms were paid. There is not one union council in Sindh that has not paid ransom to free someone. It was also learned that about 1,000 persons were murdered when the ransoms were not paid. According to the sources, there are about 100 bands of robbers with a total membership of over 1,000. They are all very active, and there are another 500 persons who live like common citizens and help these robbers at various levels. They are called "resident robbers" in the Sindhi language. These people are the real backbone of the robber organization. At present, about 80 percent of the people in Sindh have built barricades on their roofs

for protection from robbers. In Larkana and Daud districts, hospitals and other government buildings have been transformed into police stations. The sources also revealed that only 20 percent of the people are really against the robbers and are serious about putting an end to their activities. About 60 percent of police personnel help these robbers in one way or another. About 20 percent of the police are dangerously involved with the robbers, and are actually helping these robbers commit crimes. They receive their share from ransoms regularly. The government has distributed 300 rifles to people in Larkana and Daud districts under the village defense mechanism. Despite these efforts, the frequency of crimes is on the rise.

The sources revealed that only about 50 percent of kidnapping incidents are registered. The remaining incidents are resolved on a personal basis. The police are not involved in these. It was also learned that 60 percent of the time, stories about confrontations between the police and robbers were charades. Actually, villagers frequently fought with the robbers, and half of the robbers were killed by villagers.

Because of this deteriorating peace situation in Sindh, all agricultural work normally done at night has stopped. In Sindh's rural areas, people do not leave their homes after 1900, while only 25 percent of the people go out until 2100 in urban areas. All traffic comes to a halt at night. Two months ago, a new traffic system was inaugurated in Sindh. According to this system, buses, trucks, and other vehicles travel in caravans under protection of the police, rangers, and military personnel.

Call for Removal of Government

91AS1020C Karachi JANG in Urdu 13 May 91 p 6

[Article: "Mumtaz Bhutto Calls for Sindh Government's Resignation"]

[Text] Karachi, 12 May (Staff Reporter)—Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, chairman of the Sindh National Front, has declared that the Sindh government has badly failed in protecting the life and property of the people in Sindh, and that it has lost the confidence of the people. He demanded that this government resign immediately and the governor's rule be established in Sindh, or mid-term elections be held. Whatever option is exercised, the people should be freed from the present government, because this government has become an unbearable burden to the people. While addressing a press conference at the Karachi Press Club this evening, he said that incidents of robbery, looting, highway robbery, and kidnapping have become commonplace in Sindh. Not only local people but even foreigners are unsafe in Sindh. Mumtaz Bhutto said that he had complained to Sindh's governor about it, and told him that the law and order situation has deteriorated to a very dangerous level. The chief minister seems not to care, as he is using all his energies to crush his political opponents. The governor of Sindh did not pay any attention either. The reason is

that the National Front has started to participate in peaceful demonstrations. He said that the National Front leaders were arrested when they called for a strike. When the police failed to find other members of the party, they arrested their parents or siblings. He said that the present government was bent upon the destruction of Sindh. In answer to a question, he said that the urban population of Sindh has always separated itself from the rural population, and no strike has taken place in the city, despite his several appeals. He claimed that many strikes were carried out in rural Sindh at his urging.

Criminals Roam Unhindered

*91AS1020D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
14 May 91 p 8*

[Article: "19,000 Robbers Active in Sindh"]

[Text] Karachi (Correspondent)—There are 19,000 robbers active in Sindh. Their thousands of agents are present in cities, small towns, and villages in Sindh. All of these have ongoing communications with the robbers. Therefore, the police cannot succeed in any campaign against these robbers. Rural area residents claim that the robbers come in groups now, armed with ultramodern weapons and communication devices. The I.G. of Sindh, Muinul Bin, refused to answer a question related to the number of robbers in Sindh.

Government Efforts Viewed

*91AS1020E Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
5 May 91 p 5*

[Editorial: "Details of 'Mop Up Operation'"]

[Text] A lot of exciting reports have been released to the press since the beginning of last month about "Mop Up Operation" against the robbers in Sindh. A series of reports were published after the release of the Japanese students about police actions against the robbers, blockades, picketings, and extraordinary activities of the ranger's special forces for two days. Most people began to believe that not a single robber was left in Sindh. Information went to Punjab from Sindh to the effect that some close relatives of the robbers were arrested. However, this campaign has been idle for the last one or two days. We have heard about neither the arrest of the robbers, nor any glorious tales of police personnel "carrying out their duty." Despite this "silence," stories of the robbers' activities and "achievements" are being published in newspapers. According to a report, the robbers kidnapped a yarn manufacturer from Karachi. What can the common people conclude from these incidents? Who has reaped the results of a large-scale operation? How many robbers were arrested, and where are they? Have the jungles been freed from their control? It is important that the people be informed of the results of this campaign, which was started and carried out with their money. This is a democratic requirement.

Sindh's Situation Seen Critical

Possible Assembly Dissolution

*91AS1099A Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 31 May 91
pp 16-18*

[Special Report by Zabir Ahmed Mujahid: "Is Sindh's Assembly Ready To Be Dissolved?"]

[Text] The present climate in Sindh is very conducive to political changes and the activities at high level indicate that the "political situation in Sindh is going to explode." There were rumors of governor's rule in Sindh earlier; however, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Sindh's Chief Minister Jam-i Sadiq Ali both have rejected these rumors. It is clear now that governor's rule is not a solution to Sindh's problems and that it will only aggravate the situation in that state. Therefore, a decision was made to bring about changes in Sindh by means of constitutional and democratic strategies. After observing government and political activities, one can say that, "the life of Sindh's assembly is very short." Some important political figures associated with Sindh have declared that, "Sindh's assembly is ready to be dissolved and new elections will be held." The state assembly was elected no more than six months ago. Why do they need to dissolve it now? The fact is that the present Sindh government is composed of various ethnic groups including the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], Sindh Qaumi Ittehad, and independents. Two or three members belong to the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance]. Of these, Sayyed Muzaffar Hussein Shan, Sindh's minister for law and parliamentary affairs, needs special mention. Sindh Qaumi Ittehad includes patriotic assembly members and independents include Jiye Sindh Movement members. This government has the full support of Pir Sahib Pagara, former Muslim League leader and spiritual leader of the Hars. Jam-i Sadiq Ali, the leader of this government formed from a composition of opposing ethnic groups, has tried admirably to establish peace, and communal riots in Karachi and Hyderabad have stopped as a result of his efforts. Both cities are returning to normal life and for the first time in five or six years, both cities celebrated the Id festival without a curfew. Chief Minister Jam-i Sadiq Ali should be credited for this success. However, we cannot deny the fact that activities of robbers within Sindh are increasing and incidents of robberies and looting in the cities are also rising. Abduction and ransom have taken on a form of business in Sindh. The abduction of dozens of people daily is a common occurrence. Abduction of two Japanese students and murder of a Swedish engineer have caused problems for our government. All this indicates that the robbers in Sindh are very well organized and law enforcement agencies, especially Sindh Police, are helpless against these robbers. Even federal and state ministers had to try very hard to wrest the Japanese students from the kidnapers. Cooperation from "friends" of these robbers was obtained and support of many tribal leaders was also sought. Still, the kidnappers let the Japanese students go only after their demands were met. Some

sources have revealed that the state government had to withdraw 20 million rupees to free the kidnapped Japanese students, but only five million reached the kidnapers. The kidnapping of the Japanese students and their captivity for 46 days did not only bring notoriety to the Sindh government, but also embarrassed Pakistan on the international level. At any rate, the kidnapping incidents in Sindh have proved to be a challenge for Jam-i Sadiq's government and despite all the difficulties, Jam-i Sadiq Ali's political and administrative efforts to curb the robbers have resulted in an improved situation.

The problem of violence and disorder in Sindh is several years old and did not start during the present government's rule. Jam-i Sadiq Ali is a strong person and some people have openly said that if Jam-i Sadiq Ali cannot solve this problem no other government will be able to do so either. A strong and stable government is needed to establish peace and harmony in Sindh and such a government can be established only by a majority-party government. In a government formed by several parties and groups, the leader cannot function independently. Jam-i Sadiq Ali's strongest support in the Sindh government is the MQM which is currently suffering from internal strife. Opposing groups of the MQM are clashing with each other in Karachi. Recently, statements issued by Itaf Hussein, the MQM leader, have been "rebellious" and he has been complaining about the federal government and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in his speeches. Sindh's Chief Minister Jam-i Sadiq Ali also continued to visit Itaf Hussein in Azizabad every other day and talked to him for as long as five hours to give him assurance. At one time, the MQM leadership issued strong and threatening statements and it appeared that the agreement between the IJI and the MQM was going to fall through. The prime minister sent a high level committee of the IJI to Karachi to meet the MQM leaders when he sensed the situation. Mian Zahid Ali, a member of the National Assembly, and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, prime minister in the former caretaker government, also met with Itaf Hussein during this period and reached an agreement with him for political reasons.

When Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif arrived in Karachi on 30 April, he succeeded in getting the MQM leadership out of Azizabad. MQM leader Itaf Hussein went to the state guest house with his associates for a long meeting with the prime minister to present their complaints. The attitude of the MQM leaders did not change even after this meeting. The MQM leaders had repeatedly said in their speeches that, "the prime minister should be honest with us and make good his promises." In any case, the MQM dissatisfaction, its increasing demands, and the government's action against the MQM rebels have increased problems for Jam-i Sadiq government. The meeting between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and the MQM leaders salvaged the MQM-IJI agreement. However, political observers believe that the MQM is going through a phase in which it cannot afford to make the mistake of giving up power. Without the effective control of power, the MQM deserters might take over. Some

circles call the daily threats by the MQM blackmail. The MQM and Jam-i Sadiq Ali need each other in the present situation, but some sources revealed that Jam-i Sadiq Ali does not want to maintain this situation for long. He feels the need for a party in Sindh similar to what three other states have and on which governments have been established. Thus, a need for political change through constitutional and democratic means is being felt in Sindh.

Meetings among important national leaders during the last few days indicate that some changes will come about in the near future. It is common knowledge in Sindh now that the Sindh assembly could be dissolved any time. The present situation is accelerating this development.

Pir Sahib Pagara, former Muslim League president and spiritual leader of the Hars, has announced a "double march" in March. Perhaps, this "double march" has been postponed for June or July. He is holding various "functions" and his activities are not totally safe from "danger." Some "important" activities took place in Karachi recently and Pir Pagara's presence was prominent in those activities. Pir Pagara met with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in the state guest house to discuss the political situation in the country, especially in Sindh, and to exchange ideas on the Muslim League situation when the latter visited Karachi. Some important decisions with respect to Sindh and the Muslim League were also made. The prime minister also visited Makhdum Talib Almola during his 30 April trip. Jam-i Sadiq Ali, the Sindh chief minister, accompanied him. Later, when the president visited Karachi on 3 May, Pir Sahib Pagara met with him along with Jam-i Sadiq Ali. It is said that some "important exchanges and discussions" were dealt with out during this meeting. Sindh's political circles are giving much importance to the meetings between Pir Sahib Pagara, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and the prime minister's visiting Makhdum Talib Almola. Observers believe that these meetings will culminate in the dissolution of the Sindh assembly and the holding of new elections. Sindh's chief minister, Jam-i Sadiq Ali has succeeded considerably in breaking through the armor and weakening the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in Sindh. He has also succeeded in obtaining support from a large number of PDA [Pakistan Democratic Alliance] members. These members were absent during the recent elections of the Sindh assembly. They had avoided the meetings on purpose as they did not want to be forced to support the PPP through the forum of the assembly.

Chief Minister Jam-i Sadiq Ali announced his decision to join the Muslim League. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief and Pakistan Muslim League Party's president, Mohammed Khan Junejo, have formally invited him to join the Muslim League. Thus, Jam-i Sadiq Ali decided to join the Muslim League. Mohammed Khan Junejo, president of the Pakistan Muslim League, announced in his speech at the Muslim League Workers Convention at Mirpur Khas on 22 April that Jam-i Sadiq was a traditional Muslim Leaguer and he was going to join the

Muslim League soon. Mr. Junejo had also said that, "the Muslim League will play a very effective and important role in the changing situation in Sindh and the next government in Sindh will be formed by the Muslim League." Chief Minister Jam-i Sadiq Ali told the newsmen in the assembly chambers on 7 May that he will fully cooperate in strengthening the Muslim League in Sindh. He had said that he was uniting Pir Pagara's Muslim League and the welcome news about other assembly members' being "Muslim" would be announced soon. According to knowledgeable sources Jam-i Sadiq Ali will desert the PDA and join the Muslim League as soon as the state assembly dissolves and he will run for elections on the Muslim League tickets.

The Muslim League has disclosed through various sources that decision was made to take emergency measures to organize and strengthen the Muslim League before the new elections. Pir Pagara and Jam-i Sadiq Ali will play a major role in this effort. It was also decided at high level the the Muslim League would be made dynamic and strong under the leadership of Pir Pagara and cooperation of Jam-i Sadiq Ali. Pir Pagara's men would be appointed leaders in every district. They will run a campaign to recruit members for the Muslim League Party under their supervision. This will be followed by elections for primary, town, city, country, district, divisional, and state officers. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Pakistan Muslim League's president Mohammed Khan Junejo, and several other Muslim League leaders have admitted that the Muslim League cannot be presented as an effective political power against the PPP in Sindh without the help of Pir Sahib Pagara. Pir Sahib Pagara's influence and respect in Sindh cannot be denied. The Sindhis are fed up with the way the Muslim has been made to fight with each other in Sindh by feeding them the poison of racial and communal prejudices. The Muslim League can provide leadership to the people in Sindh only when this situation is taken care of. It is the perfect time for the Muslim League to raise the flag of peace, reconciliation, brotherhood, and love in Sindh. The task of organizing the Muslim League that Pir Pagara has started is a welcome news. We hope that Pir Pagara will be victorious as there is no coordination in the Muslim League in the state at present. The Muslim League under the leadership of Pir Pagara during the Bhutto era was in much better position in Sindh. Nevertheless, the task to use Pir Pagara's people and reorganization of the Muslim League has started. Senator Bostan Ali Hoti and Nawab Mohammed Yamin have already been appointed organizers in Karachi and Hyderabad respectively. State minister for law and parliamentary affairs, Sayyed Muzaffar Hussein Shan, has been appointed district organizer for Mirpur Khas district and the Sanghar district has been assigned to former state minister Khalifa Mohammed Aqil Maingroo. Organizers in other districts are also being appointed. It is expected that Sindh's chief minister, Jam-i Sadiq Ali, will tour every district in Sindh to strengthen the Muslim League. The Muslim League circles are optimistic that the Muslim League will win by

a large margin after the assembly is dissolved now that Pir Sahib Pagara and Jam-i Sadiq Ali have become actively involved. They hope that the Muslim League will be in a position to form a government alone. Pir Sahib Pagara and Jam-i Sadiq Ali will have the right to distribute elections tickets to the Muslim League candidates in Sindh. We are now waiting to see if the assembly is dissolved before the discussions on the budget or before it.

Foreigners Refuse To Work

91AS1099B Karachi AMN in Urdu 19 May 91 p 2

[News Report: "Foreign Experts Refuse To Work"]

[Text] Karachi (PPI)—British, French, Italian, and German firms have informed the federal and state governments that they will not allow their experts to work on the unfinished projects in Sindh because of the concern for their safety. These foreign experts had agreed to continue working after receiving assurance from the state chief minister. However, after the abduction of a Chinese engineer and faced with inadequate measures to protect foreigners, these experts have refused to work in Sindh.

Dacoits Continue Killings

91AS1099C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 5 Jun 91 p 4

News Report: "Robbers Kill 172 Persons in 1 Month"]

[Text] Sakkhar (JASARAT Correspondent)—The Sindh government is spending daily over 4.5 million rupees to help pay for various law enforcement agencies such as the Rangers, the Armed Forces, the Frontier Forces, the constabulary, and the Makran Scouts to control violence. However, it appears that this money is being wasted. Last month, the dacoits murdered 127 persons and wounded 211. About 700 persons, including women and children, were kidnapped. Thus, four persons were killed, seven wounded, and 23 are being kidnapped daily on the average. The terrorists also killed nine persons and wounded 40 person in Karachi and Hyderabad. The Sindh administration has been paralyzed because of this situation and all developmental work is at standstill. The present Sindh chief minister has promised to establish peace within three months in Sindh. However, this 90-day promise has stretched to 300 days now and there seems to be no signs of law and order in Sindh. The Sindh government has taken armed action against these dacoits at least three times, but each time has failed. To cover up its failure, it announced that it had not taken any action.

Action Against Sindh Police Urged

91AS1154A Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
8 Jun 91 p 11

[Editorial: "Starting a Major Operation in Sindh"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced in an interview the welcome news that a major operation had been planned to improve the situation in Sindh. He said that the landlords, big financiers, and politicians who support and protect the dacoits will be taken care of [punished] in the near future. He also assured that the people of Sindh would be kept informed about every phase of this operation. A strong force has been established to implement this operation. This force will make Sindh a peaceful state, and the people will see a distinct difference within a week.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has accepted every difficult challenge with courage since he came to power. He has been successful in solving every complex problem that he has touched. Establishing law and order in Sindh is not really his job; it belongs to the state government. However, because of the developments in Sindh over many years and because the incidence of serious crimes in that state has terrified the people there, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has felt the people's pulse and has decided that he should be involved. He has decided to launch a major operation in Sindh because, in spite of political and economic progresses, his government will not be considered successful until he crushes illegal activities and crime in Sindh totally. He has assured the people concrete results in this effort. The prime minister has implemented this plan at the right time. After the Chinese and Japanese kidnappings, it was felt that the situation in Sindh needed to be improved and the problems that have resulted because of the cooperation between the landlords, the corrupt police officials, and the dacoits, must be taken care of at any cost.

Thank God, after 25 days of hard work, that the three Chinese engineers were released. These engineers were kidnapped by Chandeu's band on 11 May. The kidnapping of these Chinese engineers after the kidnapping of Japanese students had caused serious concern in the whole nation. People from China and Pakistan consider their friendship very important, and the kidnapping of the Chinese after the Japanese students kidnapping had hurt our national image throughout the whole world. For this reason, the unconditional release of the Chinese engineers was attempted by the government from the very beginning. The whole government machinery was mobilized for this effort. About 800 members of various law enforcement agencies were deployed around Katie Jatoi, where the kidnappers had their safe hideout. One benefit of this siege has been that the activities of the dacoits has been limited to the jungles of Katie Jatoi. Government-appointed officials responsible for contacting the dacoits were successful in establishing contact with them. However, letting these Chinese engineers remain in the dacoits' custody for 25 days is embarrassing for Sindh's government. Sindh police and other law enforcement agencies did not play any special role in freeing the engineers. This is the result of those top leaders that the Sindh government had contacted specially to use their influence with the tribal areas. They used their contacts to influence the dacoits to settle this

affair. In the last phase of this effort, the leader of the Kand tribe, who is a former MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly], spent nine days talking to the dacoits in the jungles of Katie Jatoi. Pir Pagara also sent a special assistant to help him. Under what conditions was this release obtained, and was payment of ransom involved? We cannot say anything about this at this time. The dacoits must have some conditions for releasing some of their associates currently in jail. The dacoits that are currently in jail have repeatedly said that the police and the landlords have forced them on the path of crime. Anyhow, it is not difficult to find out how strong the dacoits are in Sindh and that until now, they had been ruling the jungles in Sindh. The whole fiasco about releasing the Chinese and Japanese shows how helpless the state government is and how strong the dacoits are. Until the Sindh police is purged of its black sheep and the landlords who regularly protect the dacoits are controlled, the law and order situation in Sindh cannot be improved. Against this background, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's ambitious plans are very welcome. The whole nation prays that the present government succeeds in controlling the fear of lawlessness as soon as possible.

Criminals in Sindh Seen in Control

*91AS1154B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 20 Jun 91
p 11*

[Editorial: "Operation Against the Dacoits Fails"]

[Text] According to a report, a combined operation by the Frontier Constabulary, the rangers, and the police against the dacoits has failed. Members of these law enforcement agencies have ended the siege of the jungles and are pulling back. Because the dacoits escaped to Baluchistan when they learned about this operation, the Operation Cleanup to end lawlessness in Sindh that was started with a lot of pomp and show has been abandoned. The government had guaranteed that not only law and order would be established as a result of this effort, but that the dacoits and their supporters would be arrested and given the appropriate punishment. Supposedly this action would stop anyone from daring to gamble with the lives and safety of the people. The prime minister announced this operation during his visit to Karachi a few weeks ago. The chief minister of Sindh assured the people of Sindh after this operation was announced that positive results would come from this operation, and that no negligence would be tolerated. However, the new information indicates that this operation was neither properly planned, nor was there a strong desire to make it successful. The facts and figures shared in the beginning of this operation pointed to the strength of the dacoits and the weakness of the law enforcement agencies. In light of the previous experiences, it was imperative that plans be made to arrest the dacoits and their supporters at the same time and to block all escape routes. This operation was ended after only two days with the excuse that the dacoits had escaped to Baluchistan. This is a sad example of ineptitude and lack of insight. It appears that the Sindh

government has learned nothing from its previous experiences and is working with the dacoits behind the scenes. Perhaps, because of the pressure from the central government, this operation was begun half-heartedly and without the necessary planning. As for the problem of [the dacoits] escaping to Baluchistan, this is not a good enough reason to suspend the whole operation. Baluchistan is also within Pakistan. The operation can be extended there to achieve the total destruction of these dacoits.

Sindh's Increase of Lawlessness Examined

91AS1291C Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
19 Jul 91 pp 1-2

[Article by Shaikh Aziz: "Dacoity in Sindh"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The recent kidnapping of Japanese students and their recovery after 48 days, followed by that of three Chinese engineers from Dadu district, has added a new dimension to the dacoities in Sindh.

Criminologists and victims in the captivity of the dacoits doubt the claim that the release of the Japanese students was secured without paying any ransom money or accepting any "conditions" of the outlaws. The dacoits do not release any victim without being paid the agreed sum, no matter how influential the person, contend the above.

The Chinese engineers who were kidnapped from Dadu district, almost 300 km from the point where the Japanese were picked up, represents a new and appalling factor to kidnapping for ransom which has been the scourge of Sindh and lower Punjab for ages. The Sindh Chief Minister has pointed to a 'foreign land' behind the current wave—a grossly abused smokescreen too frequently pulled down on every individual or collective wrong. Ample proof has to be found to support it. But if this crime wave has that remote an origin, then the solution will also have to be searched somewhere else, beyond the scope of the so-called operation clean-up.

The administration recently claimed to have made many "achievements" during the anti-dacoit campaign launched in Upper Sindh after the recovery of the Japanese students but the reality on the ground does not support these claims, with kidnapping for ransom, highway hold-ups and attacks on villages and towns having so visibly increased.

Today, no roadway in the province is safe for travel and despite the police escorts provided to the vehicles on the main thoroughfares and travelling in convoys on the highways, no passage is safe. Kidnapping with perfect homework, payment of ransom through "reliable contacts" and the release of the victims at the nearest approach point, has attained the status of "an industry working with utmost precision."

The probable targets who refuse to come out in the open frequently to avoid kidnapping, are attacked by dacoits en masse. Those who dare to resist, face almost certain death. The villages and towns are assaulted with ultra-modern weapons. Even rockets and 'pineapples' (grenades) are used to create panic and make the kidnapping easier.

Police have always been making claims of having captured "notorious" dacoits involved in "crimes," but they have been hardly able to lay their hands on the real culprits or even as much as touch the "nurseries" from where emerges a wave after wave of dacoits. Usually, innocent villagers are picked up and jailed for allegedly "harbouring the criminals and providing them food and other assistance," while their real patrons and protectors, nearly all of them known to the administration, are never even spoken of. On many occasions certain dacoits have been "killed" more than once, as in the case of Ali Gohar Chandio.

Though a few leading dacoits have been really captured during the past few years, the speed with which they are out of their nurseries, nullify the police action.

More important is the fact that dacoity in Sindh, has always been treated as a matter of law and order only and the law enforcers have opted to deal with it accordingly. But that is not the only factor. Many other factors clearly beyond the apprehension of the law enforcement agencies who still follow the textbooks handed down from the colonial era, contribute in no mean way to the sustenance and spread of dacoity.

What then can be the ways to stem the scourge? What are the sources of its sustenance and what factors contribute to constant growth? Will there ever be an end to the lawlessness, or are we heading for the total chaos?

History, sociology, social structure, economy and political behaviour are the areas where its permanent solution lies.

Dacoity in Sindh, is not an isolated phenomenon practised universally. In the eyes of the law, the dacoit or the bandit is the one who deprives the other person of his valuables with the use/or argument of force. Whether he is a common 'looter' or a noble Robin Hood, a French Argot, Turk Haiduk, African Shifta, Brazilian Cargiciro, Russian Rasboiniki, Balkan and Greek Klepht, Italian Bandolero, the Dakoo of India or Dharel of Sindh, he bears the same characteristics and with little variation, possesses the same mode of operation and the objectives.

The dacoits of the whole world have maintained a remarkable resemblance, similar modus operandi, even the political conditions have produced the same kind of dacoits all over the globe. The only difference among them is the variations in the social customs and the degree of "injustice" inflicted upon them.

From the psychological aspect of the crime, the banditry is an expression of resentment over the social and

economic system, or "avenging the wrong." But, this is not all. Personal grievances, family deprivations, social customs like matrimonial problems, personal ambitions and the political actions all contribute to the creation of banditry.

For these reasons, dacoity has been divided into five major forms: the social banditry, urban banditry, minority rebellion, noble banditry and political upsurge.

Social banditry includes the Robin Hoods, of which a number of examples in the early and mediaeval period in Sindh's history exist in the similar manner elsewhere in Europe. In action and operation, the social bandit is a peasant outlaw whom "the lord and the State regard as criminal, but who remains within peasant society and considered as a hero, as a champion avenger, a fighter of justice...and in any case as a man to be admired, helped and supported."

Urban banditry has the similar mode but it is more sophisticated in operation due to its faster access to "target" and application of modern technology. Unlike social banditry, it is more or less motivated by the urge of laying hands on easy money and adventurism. Some times this kind of banditry gives assistance to political rebellion, similar to Sindh's uprising during 1980s and post-ethnic violence.

Minority rebellion, is politically originated banditry, undertaken by a section of the population whose leaders feel deprived and draw attention by hitting the areas of majority's interests in all walks of life. The seeds of this kind of banditry in Sindh, has historical background and can be traced from past centuries to recent years.

Noble banditry or quasi banditry, is peculiarly an uprising against the economic disorders. Robinhoodism or part of Spanish banditry is reflective of this form. In this operation, the victim is always the rich wherein the dacoit distributes the booty's part to the needy for their uplift. In content, this bears similarity with the social banditry, the only difference is that social dacoity is essentially the peasant banditry, while the noble banditry can rise even from the higher class and retains some political ideologies. Bachu Badhshah and Peeru Vazir (1890-95), Photo Chang (1942-1955), Abdur Rehman Brohi (1930s), Phul Machi (1949-1955) and Paroo Chandio (1980-84) in Sindh belonged to this form.

The last kind of banditry is of particular mention—the political rebellion. This is an ensemble of social banditry, minority rebellion and noble banditry but has to be basically politically oriented. This kind of banditry is in fact resentment over the political structure of society and aims at "destabilising the prevalent system." In all the processes of the history, every government, whether composed of the local rulers or aliens, have termed it as sedition, uprising or rebellion and tried to crush it with an iron hand. This phenomenon has not been only followed in Sindh but in all parts of the world.

In Sindh, a whole line of such "bandits" fill the pages of history. The rise of "banditry" during the days of Arghuns and Turkhan (1522-1565) aimed at dislodging the alien rule in Sindh was very visible and was "crushed" with iron hand. Even the uprising led by the esteemed religious scholar and saint Hazrat Makhdoom Bilawal was termed sedition and ended with his execution through an oil-peller (1522).

The armed resistance of 1890 which lasted for over five years (the first Hur movement) was termed by the English government as "lawlessness" and they executed a large number of men. This led to the creation of political banditry in Sindh. The resurgence of Hur movement in 1942, and uprising of 1983 all represent this form of "banditry" which had political underpinnings.

Whatever form of banditry it is an act of lawlessness, but the psychological impulse it bears, is the "change" the dacoit wants to bring—in his lifestyle, in his community or the government. Sociologists believe that he is the product of society's social, political and economic order. This is a universal symptom and its creation and rise is closely related with social conditions. Thus, the solution too lies in the core of society and the system.

Shari'a Bill Seen Threat to Journalistic Freedom

91AS0889B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 21 Apr 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Unholy Steps in the Name of Press Shari'a Rules"]

[Text] Qazi Hussein Ahmed, leader of Jamaat-i Islami, said during an exchange with newsmen that he did not support the antireligious laws in the name of shari'a. He referred to the prime minister's speech in parliament in which he had mentioned limiting appeals procedures and imposing restrictions on the press. He added that the people would not approve if the government tried to use the shari'a bill for its own purposes. He also said that justice delayed is justice denied and welcomed the prime minister's announcement assuring the people of sensible and prompt justice. Mr. Ahmed believed that the prime minister's efforts to limit the appeals was against the fair law requirements and universally accepted policies. He added that it was not according to the shari'a laws and would not be acceptable at the international level. This is the government's own plan and the opposition is afraid that this would be used against them. The government should refrain from it; however, if it must have it then it should not tie it to shari'a laws since Islamic laws do not limit the appeals procedures and do not delay in justice. The government should try to remove various problems that impede justice. [Mr. Ahmed further said that] as for Article 17 of the shari'a bill, there are some concerns and based on our past experiences these concerns are valid since the government might use this article as a weapon against the press. The late General Zia banned honesty in writing by amending Section 499 of the Pakistan

Penal Code which was ended during Mr. Junejo's government. It would be a grave injustice against journalists and the nation if the law is passed to require publication of news sources and ban publication of information on corrupt deeds of the government and the bureaucracy as if they were state secrets. The people will not tolerate this effort to give a bad name to shari'a. The government should, therefore, refrain from such steps and communicate its goals clearly. It should not treat the Islamic laws like toys.

Pashtuns Claimed Majority in Balochistan

91AS1016C Karachi AMN in Urdu 7 May 91 p 4

[Article: "Equal Rights for Pashtuns"]

[Text] Quetta, 6 May (PPI)—Mr. Rafiq Pashtun Advocate, chairman of southern Pushtunkhawah, has demanded of the federal government that the Pashtuns should be given equal rights in all spheres until a new

state from Sabi to Zaub is formed. The governor or prime minister of Baluchistan should be a Pashtun. He warned the federal government that if it continued to ignore the Pashtun people, the government would not be very successful, nor would it remain long. He added that Pashtuns were the majority residents of the state, and 1.5 million Brahvis are also Pashtuns. He said that in order to have peace in the state, the Pashtun people, the majority in Baluchistan, should be given their proper place. This, he said, would help solve the problem of peace and order. He added that the federal government has appointed the present state government because of their terrorist activities and political conspiracies; that the government does not have the real power or any majority. The Pashtun people have been ruling this state for centuries, and the only way to end the unrest in this area would be to transfer power to the real rulers of this state, he continued. They are capable of running this state, and also are the true representatives of the people, he said.

Economic Condition Termed 'Dismal'

91AS1382A Lahore *THE NATION* in English 29 Jul 91
pp 1, 4

[Article by Anjum Ibrahim: "Pakistan's Dismal Economic Condition"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore—Pakistan fell into the category of countries which spent between 5 and 9.9 percent of its Gross National Product [gross national product] on defence and between one and 1.9 percent of its GNP on health and education, according to the World Development Report 1991.

In contrast, India spent between 2 and 4.9 percent on defence and between 2 and 4.9 percent on education and health as part of its GNP. This reflects the arms race in the subcontinent and as a result of our much smaller GNP the need to catch up with India's annual budgetary allocations on defence.

The above-quoted figures are for the fiscal year 1986 but nonetheless reflect a trend which is continuing. As a percentage of the annual government expenditure, Pakistan spent 39.9 percent on defence in 1972 to India's 26.2 percent. Figures were not available in the Report for our allocations on defence for the year 1989 pointing to the fact that it is difficult to itemise defence expenditure as a large part of it is hidden.

India, however, revealed a figure of 17.2 percent for 1989 but once again this percentage could very well be grossly understated.

Nonetheless the conclusion can be drawn that Pakistan, in order to keep its defence capability at par with the Indians has virtually ignored its social sectors which is amply reflected by the following comparison statistics:

Between 1980-89 Pakistan's population growth rate was estimated at 3.2 percent to India's 2.1 percent. And during 1989-2000 Pakistan's growth rate is expected to remain static whereas the Indian one is expected to further decline to 1.7 percent; our crude birth rate was given as 46 (per 1000) in 1989 to India's 31; and our adult illiteracy in 1985 was 70 percent compared to India's 57 percent.

The World Development Report also quoted statistics which reflect that there was greater income inequality in Pakistan compared to that existing in India in 1989. The highest 20 percent (richest) group in Pakistan accounted for 45.6 percent share of total household income in comparison to India's 41.4 percent. It can also be forecast that with the recent trend on privatisation which is further favouring the rich few as shares of public corporations are not being put up for sale in the stockmarkets but sold individually to private individuals or hastily erected consortiums income inequality would further rise.

But the Gulf War has also had a negative impact on the economy of Pakistan. As per the Report: 'For oil

importing developing countries as a group, the effect of the increase in the oil price on the current account balance is estimated to have been about 7 percent of their combined exports.' Our problem was that we did not have the refining capacity which led us to pay huge sums to other countries to refine crude given by the Saudis to us free of cost. But the Report also mentioned that Pakistan had to 'pay higher interest on debt service, and has lost trade and service contracts and workers' remittances.' This explains the current economic problems being faced by our economy.

But as we know in this country the most serious problem is the cessation of aid. As per the Report: 'aid is sometimes turned on and off in response to the political and strategic agenda of bilateral funding agencies, making resource flows unpredictable. This resource instability can result in interruptions in development programmes, as in Egypt, India, and Pakistan.' As is evident both India and Egypt are no longer in this category after the Gulf War. Pakistan still is. What we desperately require is a more viable foreign policy.

A lot of aid to Pakistan is tied and its effects on our economy is quite devastating as per the Report. 'In Pakistan, the cost of using agency shipping lines to transport aid-funded procurements (often a substantial proportion of total project costs) was 50-115 percent higher than the cheapest alternative.' The question one has to ask the government is that why was such horribly tied aid accepted by them. But the answer is fairly obvious: high corruption, low resource mobilisation and the constant need to generate more revenue.

The World Development Report also opined that our low exports are due to the anti-export bias—and the stress on import substitution. But the Report typically favoured a reduction in import barriers which would directly lower government revenue as the bulk of it is generated from import tariffs, a fact which would require 'domestic tax reforms, a realistic exchange rate policy (evident in the discrepancy between the official and the black currency market rate) coupled with fiscal and monetary discipline,' which our past and present governments seem incapable of doing.

And what about the financial markets which Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is privatising thinking that it would root out existing evils. According to the Report, the problem is associated with gathering information on borrowers which is time consuming and costly. Private moneylenders in Pakistan 'devote an average of one day per applicant to obtaining information, and reject one applicant in two.' The banks, even private ones will have to allocate part of their total annual loans to those they know and others will be given loans only after information on a them is collected.

The Report also mentioned that investment on Research and Development is low in Pakistan and where it does occur like in wheat production the dividends are high.

However Pakistan remains a low income country experiencing a massive increase in government consumption rates from year to year with a slowing down in its energy growth rate from 6.5 percent in 1965-80 to only 5.8 percent during 1980-89. But then where are the finances to come from?

The Report thus conclusively proves that the country requires radical policy changes both in the areas of generating revenue for the government and in its allocation priorities with adequate importance given to the financial and exchange rate sectors through fiscal and monetary discipline—a trend not visible in the budget of the present government.

Pace of Technological Development Criticized

*91AS1398A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
3 Aug 91 p 6*

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "Technology: A Dismal Record"]

[Text] Though Pakistani government leaders never tire of making tall claims of going all out to put the country on the path of industrial development, in practical terms they have done nothing except to keep on fighting amongst themselves in order to wrest power. They have been, figuratively speaking, making the nation eat grass in the interest of national development but unfortunately the government leaders have not translated into reality their oft-repeated promise of ushering in era of technical and industrial development in the country. The hard facts belie their claims.

Technology and human resources development are the two pre-requisites for industrial development of a society. Pakistan lags behind in both fields. Education is in a mess. In technical and science education, the country stands perhaps on the lowest rung of the ladder. How can a country develop without developing its human resources? For technological development, the basic requirement is that there should be a general boost in literacy and at least a moderate increase in higher education. There cannot be any technology acquisition and development without the corresponding development in human resources. Pakistan's investment in human development resources is the lowest in the developing countries. But it is even more low in spending on the research and development activities. According to a study undertaken by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the South Pacific (ESCAP) and published in March 1991, Pakistan's spending on research and development is woefully meagre. Quoting figures of Pakistan's spending on R and D [Research & Development] as percentage of GNP [gross national product] for the year 1984, it said that Pakistan spent only 0.35 percent on this count. Only one country, namely Sri Lanka, is behind Pakistan with its spending on R and D being 0.18. As against Pakistan, India's R and D spending is shown at 0.91 percent [p.c.]

in 1986. The figures of research and development expenditure as percentage of GNP in other countries are: Japan (2.78 p.c.), United States (2.81 p.c.), Australia (1.40 p.c.), United Kingdom (2.30 p.c.), South Korea (1.81 p.c.), Singapore (0.86 p.c.), Malaysia (0.80 p.c.) and Thailand (0.35 p.c.).

The figures are self-revealing. In a recent interview, the Prime Minister had expressed the desire that Pakistan would like to be South Korea. It is a laudable desire. In fact, all Pakistanis join in the desire to make Pakistan like any developed country, be it Japan or Korea. Unfortunately, wishes are not horses that beggars could ride. Even the current year's budget of Pakistan had not increased the level of spending on education or for that matter on Research and Development. The government has not given incentives to the private sector despite its over-riding concern and enthusiasm for giving a boost to the process of privatisation for investing in research and development which can intensify industrialisation in the country. The industrial development that the newly industrialised countries like South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore have made in the last decade is mainly due to the fact that their investment on the human resources development was heavy. In the sphere of research and development, particularly these countries as the figures given above show adequately, have been devoting sizeable resources on promoting R and D activities. In Pakistan, defence spending has been claiming the lion's share in the total budgetary allocation because of understandable geo-political compulsions. But what our planners have ignored is that industrial planning which is linked with human resources development, is as much important as the defence planning. Here again, the R and D activities become of paramount importance.

In the last two decades, the more advanced states in the world have become increasingly possessive about their technical and scientific property and are reluctant to share knowledge or technical knowledge with developing countries. It is not in their strategic and economic interest to share their knowledge and technical knowhow with the developing countries. They are building up all sorts of impediments in the way of transference of the old and new technologies and fruits of research and development to the developing countries. In fact, they would go to any length in barring the developing countries from acquisition of technologies and technical skills from them. In the countries professing to be free economies, government controls over the private firms have tightened in way of the transferring of the new technologies to the poor countries.

Keeping in view the obstacles created by the developed economies like the United States and its allies in the West in the way of sharing of fruits of research and development with the developing countries, it becomes increasingly more important for the developing countries to increase their spending on research and development activities. For Pakistan it is all the more important

to draw up a new strategy for boosting literacy and higher education, especially in the field of sciences and technologies.

Strictly, from the point of view of industrial development, it is important for a country like Pakistan not only to increase the percentage of spending on research and development activities but also to make it obligatory on the part of the industries to set up their R and D facilities so as to keep on modernising their industries and evolve new technologies. In developed countries, like Japan, a sizeable portion of that country's more basic research is performed within large corporate laboratories. All the major industrial units and manufacturers of cars, television sets and other items have their own research facilities on which they spend up to three percent of the budget. In smaller countries of Asia, the governments have also come in a big way in promoting research and development activities. Discussing this issue, the ESCAP study on "Industrial Restructuring in Asia and the Pacific," says: "Partly to compensate for the fragmented industrial structure in Taiwan province of China, the government has assumed a major role in R & D. As of 1987, roughly half of the total of R & D expenditures came from the government, much higher than in Korea. Much of the funding was spent in government research laboratories. Those laboratories have performed a dual function: Transferring key technologies from abroad and then diffusing them domestically through generous licensing policies and the promotion of start-up companies by the former laboratory personnel. The laboratories have maintained strong ties to industry which accounts for a growing share of their R & D budget."

The main point is that the government must first of all raise the percentage of spending on R and D activities to appreciable level and then adopt a strategy to involve major private industries in setting up their own research and development facilities on individual or collective basis.

Pakistan must understand clearly that it cannot expect any helping hand from the Western countries in transferring of technologies. Research and Development activities must be given the same importance which is being given to defence.

Leader Calls For Legalization of Arms Manufacture

91AS1100C Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
28 May 91 p 4

[News Report: "Arms Manufacture in Tribal Areas Should Be Legalized; Tribes Never Provided Weapons to Pakistan's Enemies"]

[Text] Sayyed Wazir Khan, president of Qaumi Tehriq of Darra Adam Khel, said, while commenting on the news reports that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif wanted to purge the tribal areas of drugs and weapons, that there is no doubt that the prime minister is very popular among all tribes because of his character, sincerity, and honesty and that all tribes would obey his orders. He added that keeping, making, and selling weapons was a tribal tradition which would be impossible to stop. He said that making or keeping weapons did not cause any problems for the government because these tribes are loyal to Pakistan and there was not even one incident during the last 44 years in which these tribes may have used these weapons against Pakistan or sold these weapons to any enemy of Pakistan. He said that the weapons industry has been flourishing among the tribes in Darra Adam Khas for several centuries and provided livelihood to 150,000 local people as well as seven million nomadic tribes. He appealed to the government that instead of stopping the livelihood of millions of people, it should legalize and modernize this industry. This would help it keep its promise to the people that it would bring about an industrial revolution. Sayyed Wazir Khan said that the government's orders would only cause problems for the people. He appealed to the prime minister to resolve the tribal problems through talks and to issue all directives after taking all the tribal members of the Senate and the National Assembly into his confidence. The tribes consider such directives aimed against their independence. He appealed to the tribal people to fight unitedly against these problems and also requested members of the National Assembly and the Senate to start talks to resolve this problem.

Gen Beg Strategy Reportedly Seen As Flawed

91AS1215B Lahore THE NATION in English 9 Jul 91
p 7

[Article by Brigadier Bashir: "Gen Beg, Military and Democracy"; italicized words s published]

[Text] General Beg was a product of the system nourished by Zia. Having a bright career, he had exposure to higher learning and experience of tackling the intricate problems of the army. He remained a part of the decision-making process since 1980 but under the shadow of Zia. He was placed as VCOAS [Vice Chief of Army Staff] against the design of Ziaul Haq, who was master of taming infuriated and uncompromising subordinates. This was the political and professional setting when the tragic incident of 17 August 1988 took place in which besides General Ziaul Haq, many senior officers died. There were moments of apprehensions, uncertainty and genuine concern about the fate of the country, its future, the durability of the interim government and the reaction of the armed forces. General Beg as an educated officer gifted with mature wisdom, had seen the entire history of Pakistan and was certainly conscious of the bleak performance of military repeated rules and contemporary conditions that were prevalent. We can summarize the situation as follows:

- Election dates had been announced and all parties were poised to participate even if their plea for party-based elections was rejected.
- People were completely disillusioned with the military and the system of controlled democracy imposed by General Zia.
- There were active divisive forces and built-in catalysts which could create a chain reaction.
- Sindh was going through a low-level insurgency and could take an ugly shape any time.
- In Afghanistan, Soviet forces were in transit for the second phase of withdrawal.

Under the circumstances General Beg had a number of options. One is not sure that he deliberately considered each of them but considering his background, the psychological impact of the tragic incident and the absence of the element of weakness in his person, he took the initial decision with all sincerity and in the best interest of the country. He followed the constitutional path and after his maiden speech as COAS [Chief of Army Staff], where the Press was also invited for the first time, dispelled all misgivings and apprehensions. By so doing he also initiated the process of *glasnost* and opened the doors of interaction between civilians and the military through frequent public statements and official briefing on various systems operative in the army.

The options available to him were; impose Martial Law, install an interim government and consider the next move according to the situation. But he was never cut for such a decision. As a follow up, he could have considered a permanent supervisory role for the army and allowed the electoral process to go through its full course, keeping

an eye on the civil government that would emerge and maintaining indirect pressure to follow and adopt policies of his choice. Whether it was by design or forced by the events and ineptness of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leadership, he followed the path of least resistance. We cannot doubt his sincerity for allowing the sapling of democracy to grow because he was the only man who advised the PPP and the IJI [Islami Democratic Alliance] to form a national government as he could predict the likely political confusion that was bound to occur because of the split mandate. Who or what forced Benazir to install Ishaq Khan as President or Sahabzada Yaqub Khan as Foreign Minister and what role General Beg played, only they know. But Benazir, a princess in chains, was the victim of her own doing, as to her prime ministership was more important than political dignity. The system of Troika which emerged and is still operative certainly damaged the interest of the country. There was divergence on many important policy matters. Who was responsible for the Jalalabad fiasco, any professional soldier could forecast its failure, is a riddle, not known to the people.

General Beg advocated the concept of strategic consensus between Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Certainly a desirable idea but we never commented on this aspect as consensus can only develop when there is commonality of threat perception or there are identical socio-economic objectives. It presupposes a reasonable status of nearly equal economic resources of participant states. Today RCO [expansion not given] is operative among the three countries and is progressing well with a scope of enlargement and extension to Afghanistan and the Muslim Republics of USSR but it is premature to forecast any tangible results. However, a country afflicted by lack of consensus within itself cannot hope for a larger consensus at a regional level. Similarly, his concept of strategic defiance pronounced in the wake of the Gulf War proved to be a misjudgment of events and evoked serious criticism. Further defiance in its varied forms as applicable to Pakistan asks for tremendous sacrifices and extreme austerity measures. While there is no visible effort by the government, the Army has not initiated any steps to demonstrate to the people as a pace-setter. In fact, extravagant functions are exceedingly increasing to out-show others.

General Beg's achievements are indeed many. He bridged the yawning gap between the civilians and the military which had been tarnished over the last three decades. He allowed the frequent visits of journalists to military institutions and organised seminars to create a better understanding. An eloquent speaker who could convey his views with incredible clarity without losing sight of trends of thought, he learnt and understood the art of strategy with the indigenous tenor. By organising an elaborate exercise *Zarb-e-Momin*, he instilled confidence among the people. His major contribution to the army and the country are laying the foundations, with clearly conceived plans, for indigenous development of means of firepower; tanks, guns, missiles and upgrading

of existing weapons systems. During his tenure he introduced a variety of doctrinal changes and concepts. As VCOAS he opposed the induction of the MIAI,[expansion not given] a U.S. tank, which was a prudent decision, because if it was accepted, it would have blocked Pakistan's own MBT 2,000 programme and now put us in a serious situation with the U.S. aid cut-off. the country would have been in a serious dilemma. Instead he opted for the upgraded T-69 as an interim measure. He took the bold decision of creating a new arm in the Pakistan Army, the Army Air Defence.

He became an irreconcilable figure for the U.S. for his concern towards the destruction of Iraq, which in fact proved to be the destruction of the Muslim *Ummah*. Consequently, his big no to U.S. aid as an addiction earned him their disfavour.

However, his appeal to the world community to give diplomacy more time and to avoid the use of force by the U.S. proved to be justified. Later, revelations show disagreement on this issue between the U.S. military and President Bush. After all, what did the U.S. finally achieve by destroying a Third World country? The peace that they searched for its nowhere in sight.

Many rumours were afloat that General Beg was hectically working on the restructuring of the higher command organisation to find a new powerbase for himself. We are not aware of their authenticity. Perhaps any such changes to suit him would have damaged his high prestige. But the reality is that we do need to take a serious look at our defence organisation, realising that in our environment the decisive battle will be fought on land.

What we have recorded is only a one-sided story and let there be no illusion that the history of our politicians is far more repugnant. The bitter truth is that it is the failure and undemocratic practices of politicians which encourages the military to intervene. There can be differences of opinion that there was a perfect setting in May-June 1990 for the military to step in but General Beg continued with the third course discussed above. So the lesson and message is both for the people and politicians. As long as people continue returning parliamentarians on *biradri* and dynastic bases and not merit, we will face the problems of nation-building. It is up to the people and politicians to prove that supremacy of military is a pervasive phenomena.

The only hope today is the Prime Minister who, whatever, his past, is young and has patience, avoids confrontation and has the will to tackle issues with faith and convictions. So let us pray and live with hope for better days.

Beg's Warning of Eminent War Viewed

Antiwar Diplomacy Needed

91AS1385A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 23 Jul 91 p 10

[Article: "Threat of Aggression Against Pakistan"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] COAS [Chief of the Army Staff] General Mirza Aslam Beg, speaking at the various farewell 'darbars' in Punjab cantonments, has warned that war could be imposed on Pakistan by India in collaboration with other countries. India would undertake war as an act of desperation because the uprising in Kashmir was taking a heavy toll and the Kashmiri struggle for liberation had gathered strength despite action by the Indian army. He linked this apprehension to the changed security situation in the region and pointed to the presence of Israeli commandos in Kashmir to establish that situation in the Middle East and the new order emerging there could destabilise Pakistan. He however assured the army men that Pakistan was fully prepared to repulse all aggressors and that its ability to produce sophisticated arms had increased considerably to offset the cut-off of military assistance. He emphasised that during his tenure as COAS the army was allowed to return to professionalism and raise its standards of training and readiness.

The assurances of the outgoing COAS are welcome since the state of internal security has eroded the people's confidence in the external security of the country. Discussion of threat perceptions and response is the function of the army top-brass even during peacetime. While the politicians seek ways and means to avoid war, the generals are supposed to dwell on the possibility of war and assure the people that requirements of national defence would be met under all circumstances. It is the avoidance of war that a country seeks by investing in defence. In the case of Pakistan, the investment in this sector has long been the first economic priority, even though the country has suffered because of it, and borrowing more money from the international lending agencies has become difficult because of the deficit the military expenditure adds to in the national budget. But the question to ask is: after investing so much in defence, is the civilian government doing its job of avoiding war? Unless avoidance of war is taken as serious political concern, expenditure on the army would be warlike, not defensive. Internal security in the country has become lax and comparisons can be made between the turmoils visible in India and the environment of fear in Pakistan. The civilian government has accepted the continuation of the 'hard' foreign policy pursued by Pakistan in its neighbourhood even though the country is 'soft' inside in terms of security. The Afghan war became an object of friction between prime minister Junejo, who had signed the Geneva Accord, and General Zia who wanted to continue the 'hard' policy spearheaded by Hekmatyar and his allied 'mujahideen'. The policy towards India became disputed between prime minister Ms. Bhutto

and the opposition and the army leadership she had offended. With Kahuta offending the U.S. and the Afghan policy offending the Soviet Union, Pakistan is in the unenviable position of being in a posture of hostility towards two of its neighbours and both the superpowers. Apart from the brief spurt during the Gulf war, Islamabad has done little in the way of diplomacy to avoid war. The Rathore episode in Azad Kashmir revealed that Pakistan's policy towards the Kashmiri struggle was being disputed within the various agencies in Islamabad. Evidence in the past has revealed a similar dichotomy in the Afghan policy. Given the environment of contrary policy trends in Islamabad, the ability of the civilian government to pursue avoidance of war has been seriously curtailed. No wonder, then, that COAS General Mirza Aslam Beg is talking about 'other' countries joining India in aggression against Pakistan. Even if our army is in readiness, it is no consolation to the people that Pakistan would have to fight many adversaries at the same time. There is a general realisation that Pakistan's achievement of external sovereignty is hampered by a lack of internal sovereignty. Who is in power in Islamabad? Why is an elected government with two-thirds majority in the parliament running scared, with opposition calling on the president to dismiss it and asking the army to overthrow it? A democratically elected government has the people's mandate to decide whether it should pursue a 'hard' foreign policy while the country is 'soft' internally. But the power arrangement under the 8th Amendment is such that the diplomacy of peace cannot be applied when it is needed. Pakistan is under threat internally because of this inability to seek avoidance of war.

India Deploying 9 Divisions

91AS1385B Lahore THE NATION in English 30 Jul 91
p 1

[Article: "Four Lakh Indian Troops in Held Kashmir: Sirohey; Sensitive Pak Installations Under Threat"]

[Text] Islamabad—The Senate Committee on Defence Affairs has been informed at a Joint Staff Headquarters briefing that India has deployed 9 divisions (4 lakh troops) of its armed forces in Held Kashmir.

The Committee was informed that Held Kashmir was completely in control of Indian Army. The Committee was also told that Pakistan's sensitive installations are under threat. Pakistan armed forces have made elaborate arrangements to meet any eventuality.

The possibility of Israeli attack on Kahuta Plant was also mentioned in the briefing and it was said that Pakistan would have to keep a vigilant eye on the designs of the enemy.

The briefing was given by Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, Admiral Iftikhar Ahmad Sirohey. He said though there was no extraordinary movement of Indian troops on the borders, yet Pakistan could not ignore its defence.

About the deployment of Indian troops in Rajasthan sector, the Senators were told that India was starting routine military exercises and Pakistan's Director-General Military Operations was in touch with his Indian counterpart in this connection.

Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee said despite limited resources, Pakistan had to strengthen its defence.

He said that Pakistan was striving to achieve self-sufficiency in defence production. The members of Senate Committee on Defence Affairs were also briefed about the latest Held Kashmir situation. They were told that on account of the acceleration of the freedom movement, India has enhanced its troops from four divisions to nine divisions under the pretext of internal security.

The briefing was attended by Senators Noor Jehan Panezai, Abbas Shah, Fasih Iqbal, Tariq Chaudhry, Malik Mohammad Hayat, Ijaz Ali Jatoti and Asif Vardag.

Serious Threat Exists

91AS1385C Lahore THE NATION in English 31 Jul 91
p 7

[Article by Rashid Ahmad Khan: "Chances of War Between Pakistan and India"—first paragraph is author's introduction]

[Text] Rashid Ahmad Khan argues that Gen. Beg's perception of a threat of war from India merits serious consideration. The tenuous relations between the two countries have the potential to develop into an open clash.

Pakistan's Foreign Office has hastened to rebut COAS [Chief of the Army Staff] General Mirza Aslam Beg's assertion that the country faces a highly probably threat of an attack from India in view of fast deteriorating and uncontrollable situation in Kashmir. "The military situation on the Indo-Pak border remains unchanged and there have been no threatening moves to suggest any new or imminent threat," said the Foreign Office in a statement assuring the nation against the scare created by the statement of COAS [Chief of Army Staff] that a desperate India could attack Pakistan. But quite a sizeable portion of home public opinion believes that General Beg's statement should be taken seriously.

This belief stems from a stream of allegations and accompanying threats by top Indian leaders against Pakistan for her alleged role in Kashmir and Punjab. Over the past few days the frequency of these accusations and threats has increased causing the tension to run high which, in the eyes of many an observer, can lead to an armed conflict between the two countries.

On the very day the Foreign Office issued the statement ruling out war between Pakistan and India in the near future, the Defence Minister of India, Mr. Sharad Powar, gave a serious warning to Pakistan stating that India will give a fitting response if, as he perceives, Pakistan did

not stop its support to the Kashmiri freedom-fighters and the militants in Punjab.

Mr. Powar, since he assumed the portfolio of India's defence, has been busy in the exercise of sabre-rattling against Pakistan. Earlier, while visiting the Indian Navy troops in the Arabian Sea near Bombay he had accused Pakistan of supporting the popular uprising in Kashmir and Punjab and urged upon the countries friendly to Pakistan to stop Pakistan from doing so. Before it Mr. Powar harped on the same theme when he visited Siachen area early in July.

As if not to be left behind, the new Prime Minister of India, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, also levelled charges against Pakistan for "fuelling terrorism in Kashmir." The previous Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, has also on more than one occasion accused Pakistan of interference in Punjab and issued serious warnings to Pakistan. When in early May this year, violence had increased in Kashmir as a result of the melting of snow in the valley, Mr. Chandra Shekhar had issued a threatening statement against Pakistan warning that any "misadventure" in Kashmir would be severely dealt with.

These statements contributed to the heightening of tension between Pakistan and India, resulting in a number of cross-border firing incidents in Kashmir which caused a number of casualties on both sides. In June this year, there was heavy exchange of fire between the Pakistani and Indian troops on the Line of Control in Jammu sector in which three Indian and four Pakistani soldiers were said to have been killed. India had accused Pakistan of starting unprovoked firing to provide cover for Kashmiri militants to infiltrate into the valley. India claimed that five of the infiltrators were also killed. Before this incident Pakistani sources had reported heavy Indian troop movement along the Line of Control in Occupied Kashmir. Early in July there was exchange of firing between the Pakistani and Indian troops in the valley which continued for four days. As a result of this firing two persons were killed and 12 injured on the Pakistani side.

The incidents of unprovoked firing from across the Line of Control [LOC] had become so frequent that the Government of Pakistan had to summon the Acting Indian High Commissioner in Islamabad to the Foreign Office on July 10, 1991, to protest against an unprovoked Indian firing from across the LOC on June 30, 1991. The Foreign Office had made it clear to the Acting Indian High Commissioner that Pakistan took serious notice of such incidents which could jeopardise relations between the two countries.

These border skirmishes accompanied by Indian threats to give Pakistan a fitting response have led a large number of observers to believe that Pakistan and India were well on their way to a fourth round of fighting on the old issue of Kashmir. Such a belief was very strong last year when there was a sudden upsurge of fighting in

the valley in May. The situation had become so precarious that the United States had to send a high-level delegation led by Robert Gates to dissuade both Delhi and Islamabad from following a path towards collision. The Western intelligence sources were reported to have disclosed last year that the two countries were on the brink of war in which even the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons was being considered.

But the impending catastrophe was averted, partly due to the U.S. diplomacy and partly due to the fact that the governments in both India and Pakistan last year were weak and embroiled in the issues of their very survival against determined opposition.

At present, Pakistan is being ruled by a government which enjoys a large majority in both Houses of the Parliament: in India, Congress (I) occupies the seat of power only with the help and cooperation of other parties. But two things must be kept in front of us while considering the chances of the conflict between Pakistan and India:

First, Indian National Congress (I) has a more hawkish policy vis-a-vis Pakistan on Kashmir as well as on Punjab. Some Indian circles believe that had Rajiv Gandhi been in power in India last year in place of V. P. Singh, there would have been, in all probability, a war between Pakistan and India over Kashmir.

Second, situation in Kashmir and East Punjab has gone from bad to worse as compared to last year. Delhi's hopes of stabilisation in these two trouble spots have been shattered. As a result, Indian posture has grown more threatening thereby, giving rise to apprehensions that a clash between the two countries might be inevitable.

But the civilian leadership of Pakistan feels itself fully satisfied that there is no chance of such an eventuality—at least for the time being. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan had dispelled such an impression in May this year when, during a meeting with visiting Deputy Leader of the British Labour Party Mr. Roy Hattersley, he said that there was no chance of a war between Pakistan and India as neither side was in a position to fight a winning war and both knew that it would lead to massive destruction.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has also recently spoken optimistically about the current state of relations between Islamabad and New Delhi. In an interview published in New York's LEADERS magazine, the Prime Minister had disclosed that the "Indian responses were also positive" to Pakistan's efforts "to resolve our basic differences" with her.

The Secretary-General Foreign Affairs, Mr. Akram Zaki, had, however, opined while speaking to the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE) in Lahore on July 11, 1991, that war between Pakistan and India was "possible" which he thought should be avoided as it was in nobody's interest.

At a symposium recently held in New York on the prospects of a clash between Pakistan and India, prominent American scholars who specialise on South Asia, notably, Selig Harrison, were also of the opinion that Kashmir situation could lead to a war between Pakistan and India. They even thought that there might be a resort to the use of atomic weapons against each other as both the countries are known to have achieved nuclear capability.

In the context of the existing situation in Kashmir and Punjab, therefore, there may be no other recourse left with India except to transform the crisis into a conflict with Pakistan. A large number of Pakistanis believe that India, having failed to overcome the problem in Kashmir and Punjab, would subject Pakistan to cross-border raids in the name of "hot pursuit." India may not resort to an all-out war against Pakistan, but there is every temptation for her to engage in short and limited operations against what India claims are the training and supply camps for the militants and freedom-fighters in Punjab and Kashmir. But such limited operations will immediately escalate into an open and general war between the two countries which both of them might be trying to avoid.

Pakistan has already accused India of being responsible for sabotage activities like bomb blasts and slaughtering incidents in the country. There is thus, a continuous exchange of allegations and counter-allegations between the two countries. In India, there is a strong Hindu fundamentalist lobby which urges punitive action against Pakistan. In Pakistan, certain zealots clamour for overt Pakistani help to the Kashmiri freedom-fighters.

Thus, the ingredients of a Pak-India clash are present. They have the potential of converting the existing tense relations between the two countries into an open clash. The statement of COAS General Mirza Aslam Beg, therefore, merits serious consideration. Unless President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif are following a policy of deliberately playing down the possibility of a war between Pakistan and India, they should not be overlooking the gradual deterioration in relations between the two countries due to the situation in Kashmir. Pakistan should, however, provide India with no pretext for diverting the crises in Kashmir and Punjab towards a war with Pakistan. For this purpose, Pakistan should energetically project the situations in Kashmir and Punjab as totally local and indigenous affairs and the result of India's own misdeeds and wrong policies.

Judgment of Beg Sound

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[Article by M. H. Askari: "Gen. Beg: An Exception to the Rule"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The disturbing thought that it was Pakistan Army's quest for a suitable main battle tank (MBT)

which in a series of fateful events led to Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's death nearly three years ago seemed inescapable as Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif unveiled Al Khalid at a simple ceremony at the Heavy Defence Industries complex on July 17.

By bringing the joint Pakistan-China tank production enterprise to its final stage, Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg could not have paid a more touching tribute to the memory of his predecessor. His later deviation into the realm of manipulative politics notwithstanding, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq had been essentially a 'tankman' having been commissioned into a crack Armoured Regiment in the closing years of the Second World War.

Sceptics may not reconcile easily to Gen. Aslam Beg's statement that Al Khalid could be rated as one of the best battle tanks in the world: Yet, the claim that it is a symbol of Pakistan's journey on the road to self-reliance can by no means be disputed. The series of tanks of which Al Khalid is the first prototype would inevitably undergo intensive trials both within Pakistan and in China before going into mass production.

When in the context of Pakistan's plans for expanding the indigenous defence production Mr. Nawaz Sharif observed that Pakistanis should be prepared for facing obstacles before progress could be achieved he perhaps had in mind the ripples caused by Gen. Aslam Beg's persistent stress on strategic defiance which often made him controversial.

The tenure of duty of the army chiefs in Pakistan has not always been enviable, and in at least one case it was a source of utter ignominy for the Service as well as the nation. The tenure of Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg who is due to retire next month has, however, been something of the exception to the rule. There is nothing to suggest that he will leave behind any unsavoury memories when he makes his exit, completing with dignity his three-year term as Chief of Army Staff [COAS] as provided under the Constitution.

Gen. Aslam Beg made the Army more visible than his predecessors through what he described as his policy of glasnost. Nonetheless, he managed to steer a safe course through what virtually was a minefield of sensitive situations. Even though he was catapulted to the top position by an act of fate, he faced the challenge of his appointment with confidence and professional pride. Moreover, Gen. Beg has at no time been the stereotype of the man on the horseback, a tradition to which Pakistan became accustomed after Gen. (later Field Marshal) Ayub Khan abrogated the Constitution in 1958.

Gen. Aslam Beg was the first commander of the Army who was literally made in Pakistan, trained and commissioned as he was after independence, unlike his predecessors who were all product of the Raj era. Yet, he began his tenure with what could have potentially been a handicap: he did not have his roots in any of the

territories which are reputed for their martial tradition, and the going for him was not always smooth.

There was from the beginning the shadow of a sinister suspicion that when Gen. Zia-ul-Haq crashed to his death, he (Gen. Aslam Beg) had so contrived that he should not have been on that ill-fated C-130. He happened to be a major beneficiary of the abrupt elimination of Gen. Zia-ul-Haq and several of his other senior colleagues. The suspicion was of course seldom expressed in so many words. Nonetheless, it was clearly implied more than once in statements made even by people in responsible positions. It must have, therefore, been something of a relief to Gen. Aslam Beg that shortly after his successor had been named and it was formally confirmed that he was on his way out, Mr. Ejaz-ul-Haq, son of the deceased President Zia-ul-Haq and a Federal Minister, publicly stated there was no reason to believe that Gen. Beg was in any way implicated in the "conspiracy" which led to the C-130 crash. Earlier, he had insisted that the various enquiries into the crash had not been satisfactory.

Throughout the three years that Gen. Beg served as COAS, a section of Pakistani leadership openly expressed the apprehension that, like three of his predecessors, he too would be overly ambitious and wish to displace the elected Government. Some of the others even expressed the hope that Gen. Beg would resort to some such step. But the General carefully trod on the minefield, like a master trapeze artist. It was not that politics did not concern him. On the contrary, on assuming command he had made it a point to recall his involvement with the Pakistan movement as a student. He also admitted at a later press briefing that after Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's crash in August 1988 he came under a lot of pressure to take over, as people thought that was the only alternative. Yet, he did not yield to the temptation—for temptation it must have been—and arrogate to himself the responsibility of putting the country on the "right path" as some others before him had done. He firmly held to the position that even if an elected Government failed to deliver the goods, there could be another Government, another election and another set of people.

The question whether, if after the death of Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, Gen. Aslam Beg had been inclined to assume direct responsibility for running the Government he could have got away with it or not is now purely hypothetical. All the same it needs to be examined since the Army more than once regarded it as its national duty to bail the country out of what it saw as political chaos.

Just ten weeks before his death, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq had summarily dismissed his own hand-picked government under the pretext that "the Government of the Federation cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution." On March 24, 1969 Ayub Khan had also taken up a similar position after the failure of his round-table conference of various political parties, and called upon Gen. Yahya Khan to discharge his duty and "preserve the security and integrity of the

country." Ayub Khan had maintained that in the circumstances the Defence Forces represented "the only effective and legal instrument" to take over full control of the affairs of the State. "How crudely Yahya Khan set about doing so is a matter of recorded history.

Gen. Aslam Beg and his senior colleagues who assembled immediately after Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's crash were not a naive lot. They were fully conscious that they had the responsibility to ensure that "no one was allowed to exploit the situation to meet his nefarious designs." Gen. Aslam Beg was aware that the Army held the levers of power but he also believed that unlike the conspiratorial approach adopted by Ayub Khan or Zia-ul-Haq the entire top military hierarchy had to be involved in arriving at the right decisions, representing the "collective thinking of all concerned."

During the 11 years that Gen. Zia-ul-Haq was at the helm of affairs the Army's image suffered obvious setback. In any case, the top echelon of the armed forces could not have remained totally unaffected by the virus of corruption and inefficiency which marked the functioning of bureaucracy in Pakistan. The bonanza of American assistance on an unprecedented scale following the Afghanistan crisis was not an unmixed blessing, not only because a substantial part of the aid was not accountable to the people but also because the covert nature of Pakistan's involvement led to problems such as large-scale smuggling of arms and drugs and proliferation of black money. Incidents such as the Ojheri Camp explosion and the fracas between a group of young army officers and a group of civilians in a bazaar in Rawalpindi did enormous damage to the institutional prestige of the Army. The so-called Islamisation of laws was also seen more as a strategy evolved by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq to perpetuate and legitimise his hold over the apparatus of State and less as a genuine service to the cause of Islam. Gen. Aslam Beg and his colleagues must have been only too conscious of the legacy that they would have had to inherit if they had opted for assuming responsibility for running the Government instead of encouraging a return to the path of democracy.

In his address to the Army officers in GHQ on August 25, a week after Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's death, Gen. Aslam Beg significantly emphasised the need to bring about "a true rapport between the masses and their leaders." He stressed that what the nation needed was "a positive and objective leadership" implying he believed that the Army had dirtied its copybook too much to fill this need. The fact that Gen. Aslam Beg did not have a constituency of his own [in the same sense that the majority of other senior Army commanders did] must have also been a factor in his planning for the situation following Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's passing away.

During the transition from the interim arrangements devised to fill the gap to the setting up an elected Government, Gen. Aslam Beg remained firmly committed to the military commanders' collective resolve

that it was time to start "our march towards the cherished goal of democracy." When between the elections on Nov. 16 and the formation of an elected Government there was uncertainty whether the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] which had won the largest number of seats would be called upon to lead the nation, Gen. Aslam Beg issued a statement making it clear that it was right of the party with the majority of seats to assume the responsibility.

To rehabilitate the Army's prestige, Gen. Aslam Beg followed a two-pronged strategy. He decided to expose the Army to the full glare of the media with virtually no holds barred ("to bridge the communication gap between armed forces and the nation") and minimise the traditional exclusivity of the Army's rank and file. At the same time, he worked hard to restore professionalism in the Army by launching the Exercise Zarb-e-Momin on a scale which was a new experience for officers and jawans.

Gen. Aslam Beg's glasnost could not have been expected to sustain the "holy cow" image of the Army which his predecessors strove hard to preserve over the years. The

media got a close-up view not only of the Army's fighting potentialities but also of the stark reality of the polluting effect of its having been involved in politics for almost four decades. There has been more speculative reporting and conjectural comments about the armed forces and the possible aspirations of the military commanders in the preceding three years than at given period in the past.

Whether all this has been in the long-term interest of the Army's overall image is not an easy question to answer. That there is apparently some re-thinking in the higher echelons about the merits of glasnost is apparent from the fact that ever since Gen. Aslam Beg's somewhat controversial posture on the Gulf War most events in the Army have been reported by the media on the basis of ISPR [Inter-Services Public Relations] handouts.

Gen. Aslam Beg's successor, Gen. Asif Nawaz Janjua, appeared reticent about making public statements when he was the Corps Commander in Sindh and Ms. Benazir Bhutto's government seemed to be following a policy of open confrontation with the Army. Glasnost in the Army may, therefore, be now on the way out.

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